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Periurban Phase and Sphere

an investigation into the urbanization of the Copenhagen suburb Hvidovre

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PERIURBAN PHASE AND SPHERE

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE URBANIZATION
OF THE COPENHAGEN SUBURB HVIDOVRE

BY
POUL SVERRILD

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2016



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Forstadsmuseet, Hvidovre B13695

Cover illustration, back: *The landowner Valdemar Brusck enjoys his pipe by the front of the farmhouse on his first farm in Hvidovre, Bredegård, around 1900.*
Forstadsmuseet P23

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CV

Poul Sverrild is museum director at *Forstadsmuseet* in Hvidovre. *Cirkusmuseet* which holds the largest collections and exhibitions on artist and circus history in Scandinavia is an integrated part of *Forstadsmuseet*.

Following his MA in history (mag.art. - focused partly on British imperial history and partly on local history) from the *University of Copenhagen* (1981) he underwent archivist training at the *Danish National Archives* (1982-84).

After heading an interview project (1984-85) focusing on memoirs of the 1920's and 1930's he was employed as leader of *Hvidovre Lokalarkiv* (1985).



Over the following decades he has headed the transformation of the small local historical archive into an urban ecomuseum - now covering the two suburban municipalities Hvidovre and Brøndby. The museum has a focus on the suburban history and deals with inventorization and preservation of the built landscape.

The creation and evolving of the ideology and methodology behind the first versions of the museums communications strategy *Historien i Gaden* (History in the Street) has been one of his major projects starting up in 1999. *History in the Street* presented at the time a new and radical way of communicating suburban history to the citizens by insisting on communicating in public space and on the spot where events took place.

The appointment of the suburban municipality of Hvidovre as one of the first four Danish *Cultural Heritage Municipalities* in cooperation with the *Danish Heritage Agency* and the foundation *Realdania* was a direct consequence of *Historien i Gaden* which had made the museum concentrate on the built landscapes and the heritage values in the modernistic landscapes.

Organisationally and professionally he has contributed on the board of the national organisation of local archives *SLA* (1985-91), been chair of *Kulturmiljørådet for Københavns Amt* (1996-2006), member of *Byplanhistorisk Udvalg* (2000-), *Dansk Komite for Byhistorie* (2008-), board member of *docomomo Danmark* (2010-),

member of *Udvalget for Nyere tids Arkitektur* (2012-), member of *International Committee / Urbanism+Landscape at docomomo International* (2012-).

He has taken part in numerous national and international conferences and contributed with papers and presentations on suburban history, social housing, housing history, architecture, modernism and heritage development/preservation. He has also been co-organizer of conferences and sessions.

Poul Sverrilds authorship is naturally centered on suburban history and holds a wide range of articles, booklets and books of which a number is mentioned in the bibliography in this work. Beside these it is relevant to mention

- Sverrild,P., Larsen,B. *On large-scale housing and cultural heritage in Denmark* in *Architektura & Urbanismus - Journal of Architectural and Town-planning Theory*, vol. XLVI, no. 3-4. Theme: Mass Housing. 2012
- Sverrild,P., Hollensen,L., Sparrevohn,S.D. *Avedøre Stationsby og Brøndby Strand* in *Improving the quality of Suburban Building Stock*, University of Malta (COST C26) 2010
- Sverrild,P. *Køge Bugt Planen in Living (and dying) in the Urban Modernity*, Docomomo Nordic and Baltic 2010
- Sverrild,P. *Velfærdsamfundets Bygninger*, Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2008
- Sverrild,P., Nielsen,J. *Abe-Erik og de andre Rødder*, 1992
- Sverrild,P. *Hvidovre skole og overgangen fra land til by* in *Aarbog for arbejderbevægelsens historie*, 1987

Poul Sverrild has lectured on the above mentioned topics at amongst other institutions *University of Edinburgh* (Scotland), *Royal Academy of Arts* (Denmark), *Hochschule Wismar* (Germany), *Royal School of Library and Information Science* (Denmark), *Rigsantikvaren Oslo* (Norway), *University of Copenhagen* (Denmark).

Poul Sverrild has been editor of books and magazines and worked as an expert and consultant on a series of theatre-, TV- and filmproductions on housing, welfare institutions and local history.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This thesis is a study of the development of the Copenhagen suburb of Hvidovre from rural through periurban to suburban between 1790 and 1960.

The study illustrates an urbanization process that unfolded in one of the social and geographical spaces that have not received a great deal of attention in either Danish or international literature on the suburbs.

The study places Danish research on the suburbs in the context of international research and forms part of a growing understanding of the significance of local variations. The demonstration of the local variations and the ensuing difficulties involved in typologizing and structuring the suburbs and their inhabitants points to the necessity of addressing many of the stereotypes surrounding the modern suburbs throughout their history, which is two centuries long at the international level and more than 150 years old in the Danish context.

The attention paid in recent international research to suburban structures that are not rooted in the white middle class has sharpened awareness of deviations in urbanization processes in relation to common narratives, and this thesis stresses, for example, that studies in neglected parts of the urbanized landscape can result in adopted ‘truths’ about the development of agents and developments in the urbanization process.

The study does not present an all-encompassing attempt to define the suburb. The ongoing process of expanding the history of the suburbs to apply to the whole of the social and geographical suburban variety means that the time has not yet arrived for a comprehensive new definition of the suburbs as a global and historical phenomenon.

As a contribution to the correction of traditional Danish suburban history, this study points out that future work in the area must to a higher degree relate the suburbs to the countryside and not merely to the city. It will be difficult to perceive the significance of the local and the rural without adjustments to the dominant centre-periphery approach to the understanding of the suburbs.

The thesis presents an outline of a structuring of the Copenhagen suburban landscape as illustrated in Danish fiction. It has been created as a tool for this thesis, and may appear paradoxical in relation to the implicit understanding in the thesis of

the major challenges in structuring the overall subject. The structure connects suburban physicality with literary perceptions of the reality of suburban landscapes. This framing prepares the ground for subsequent multi-disciplinary mapping of the new urbanity with which the suburbs now both complement and threaten the city.

By focusing on an underexposed part of Copenhagen suburban geography, and taking a local point of departure in sources and institutional affiliations, the thesis has been able to identify factors, actors and events that correct existing perceptions of Danish suburb formation.

This work takes its point of departure in the Canadian historian and geographer Professor Richard Harris's identification of and work with the significance of the periurban phase for framing suburban development. Through this, the study has supplemented established understandings of suburban history with the importance of local conditions such as topography, culture, land tenure and economic activity in the period prior to the establishment of the suburb.

The focus on the periurban phase has ensured a long-term perspective in the work on the relationship between centre and periphery in the urbanization process and has made visible the role of the periphery in urban expansion. The study has not only documented the asymmetry between centre and periphery, it has also illuminated mutual weaknesses and strengths in the relationship.

The introduction of the periurban possibilities as a field of inquiry in suburban research provides new opportunities for identifying events and factors that contribute to the explanation of overlooked variations in suburban development over time and place.

By taking its starting point in the local, the thesis has not least been able to illustrate how internal matters in the periphery had a decisive influence on the events in an asymmetrical relationship that also involved the centre. The analysis of the ideals and realities surrounding subdivisions and homeowners' associations in Hvidovre at the beginning of the 20th century makes it clear that, at the same time, the view of later-established narratives about the 'garden city' and the *Bedre Byggeskik* movement must be reviewed in terms of their importance for the large sector single-family house-building segment in the period.

Working with *Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, the study has highlighted a key actor on the Greater Copenhagen single-family house market. Its meaning and ideals have since been forgotten and overlaid by the history of other actors, but at the time the association played a significant

role both in the development of neighbourhoods and in making building drawings available to builders who could not afford *Bedre Byggeskik*.

Working with the long periurban phase has made it possible to identify both more of the site's unrealized development paths and some of the elements in the periurban phase that had a decisive influence on the subsequent options for action.

Symbolically, the position of Hvidovre as one of the two cheapest plots in the game of Monopoly represents the importance of certain phases in urbanization. A consequence of the illegal and chaotic housing situation in Hvidovre in the wake of the First World War completely concealed the preceding period's socially more complex palette of opportunities for almost a century. In this way, the development that Hvidovre has undergone, and the placing of Hvidovre in the Greater Copenhagen suburban landscape has come to appear as part of an irreversible process, while in an historical perspective, alternative directions for development existed.

What is most important is the documentation in the thesis of the value of also examining urbanization in the blind spots created by centrism and cultural bias.



Playing in the garden by the summer house at Antvorskovvej, Hvidovre, 1929. A feel of frontier is striking.

Forstads museet B13708

DANSK RESUME

Denne afhandling undersøger den københavnske forstad Hvidovres udvikling fra rural gennem periurban til suburban i perioden 1790-1960.

Undersøgelsen belyser et urbaniseringsforløb, som udfoldede sig i et af de sociale og geografiske rum, som ikke tidligere har haft den store opmærksomhed i hverken dansk eller international forstadslitteratur.

Afhandlingen placerer dansk forstadsforskning og -historie i forhold til international forskning, og lægger sig i forlængelse af en stigende forståelse for betydningen af lokale variationer. Påvisningen af de lokale variationer og de deraf følgende vanskeligheder ved at typologisere og strukturere forstæderne og deres beboere peger på nødvendigheden i at gøre op med mange af de stereotyper, som har omgærdet de moderne forstæder gennem deres i international sammenhæng mere end 200 år og i dansk sammenhæng mere end 150 år.

Nyere international forsknings opmærksomhed på forstadsstrukturer, som ikke har rod i hvid middelklasse, har skærpet opmærksomheden overfor afvigelser urbaniseringsprocesser i forhold til gængse forestillinger, og denne afhandling understreger f. eks., at studier i oversete dele af det urbaniserede landskab kan føre til korrektion af vedtagne 'sandheder' om agenter udviklingsforløb i urbaniseringsprocessen.

Man vil lede forgæves i afhandlingen efter et nyt altomfattende bud på at definere forstaden. Den igangværende proces med at brede forstædernes historie ud til at gælde hele det sociale og geografiske forstadsspektrum gør, at tiden næppe er inde til en ny dækkende definition af forstæderne som globalt og historisk fænomen.

Dette arbejde peger - som et bidrag til at korrigere dansk forstadshistorisk tradition - på, at et fremtidigt arbejdsfelt på det forstadshistoriske område i højere grad skal forholde forstæderne til landet og ikke blot til byen. Uden en korrektion af den fremherskende centrum-periferi tilgang til forståelsen af forstæderne, bliver betydningen af det lokale og det rurale svær at få øje på.

Afhandlingen indeholder en skitse til en strukturering af det københavnske forstadslandskab illustreret af dansk skønlitteratur. Den er skabt som et arbejdsredskab for denne afhandling, og kan fremstå som et paradoks i forhold til afhandlingens implicitte forståelse af de store udfordringer ved at strukturere den

samlede genstand. Struktureringen kobler forstadsfysikken med litterære opfattelser af forstadslandskabernes virkelighed. Denne rammesætning lægger op til at blive fulgt op af en tværfaglig kortlægning af den nye bymæssighed, som forstæderne nu både supplerer og truer byen med.

Ved at fokusere på en underbelyst del af den københavnske forstadsgeografi og ved at tage et lokalt afsæt i kilder og institutionelt tilhørsforhold har undersøgelsen kunnet identificere faktorer, aktører og forløb, som korrigerer eksisterende forståelser af dansk forstadsdannelse.

Arbejdet tager udgangspunkt i den canadiske historiker og geograf, professor Richard Harris' identifikation af og arbejde med den periurbane fases betydning for rammesætningen af forstædernes udvikling. Der igennem har afhandlingen suppleret etablerede forstadshistoriske forståelser med, hvilken betydning lokale betingelser som topografi, kultur, jordbesiddelse og erhvervsudøvelse havde i perioden forud for forstadens etablering.

Fokuseringen på den periurbane fase har sikret arbejdet et langt perspektiv på relationen mellem centrum og periferi i urbaniseringsprocessen og synliggjorde periferiens rolle i den urbane ekspansion. Undersøgelsen har ikke blot dokumenteret det asymmetriske forhold mellem centrum og periferi, men også belyst gensidige svagheder og styrker i relationen.

Introduktionen af det periurbane mulighedsrum som undersøgelsesfelt i forstadsforskningen giver nye muligheder for at identificere forløb og faktorer, der bidrager til at forklare oversete variationer i forstadsudviklingen over tid og sted.

Ved at tage afsæt i det lokale har afhandlingen ikke mindst kunnet illustrere, hvordan interne forhold i periferien kunne få afgørende indflydelse på forløb, der i en asymmetrisk relation også involverede centrum. Ved at analysere idealer og virkelighed omkring udstykninger og grundejerforeninger i Hvidovre i begyndelsen af det 20. århundrede, bliver det klart, at det samtidige billede af senere veletablerede fortællinger om 'havebyen' og 'Bedre Byggeskik' skal revideres i forhold til deres betydning for en stor sektor af énfamiliehusbyggeriet i perioden.

Undersøgelsen har ved arbejdet med 'Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn' fremdraget en central aktør på det storkøbenhavnske enfamiliehusmarked, hvis betydning og idealer siden er glemt og overlejret af andre aktørers historie, men som i samtiden spillede en markant rolle både med udviklingen af boligkvarterer og ved at stille bygningstegninger til rådighed for bygherrer, der ikke havde råd til 'Bedre Byggeskik'.

Ved at arbejde med den periurbane fases lange stræk bliver det muligt at identificere både flere af lokalitetens ikke-realiserede udviklingsveje og nogle af de momenter i den periurbane fase, som fik afgørende indflydelse på de efterfølgende handlemuligheder.

Symbolsk repræsenterer Matador-spillets placering af Hvidovre som en af spillets to billigste grunde, betydningen af bestemte faser i urbaniseringen. En konsekvens af de ulovlige og kaotiske boligforhold i Hvidovre i kølvandet på 1. verdenskrig kom således i snart et helt århundrede til helt at skjule den forudgående periodes socialt mere sammensatte mulighedspalet. På den led er den udvikling, Hvidovre har gennemgået, og den placering, Hvidovre har fået i det storkøbenhavnske forstadslandskab kommet til at fremstå som led i en uafvendelig proces, medens der i historisk perspektiv var alternative udviklingsretninger.

Vigtigst er afhandlingens dokumentation af værdien i at undersøge urbaniseringen også i de blinde vinkler, som centrisme og kulturel forudindtagethed har skabt.



Sunday promenade from the summer house at Brostykkevej in Hvidovre, 1918. Obviously not representatives of the poorest sections of society. These people represent one of the potential directions represented in Hvidovres periurban phase.

Forstadmuseet B15099

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After a long life in a suburb and an almost equally long working life with both the suburbs and a single suburb as my field of study, from 2014 I had the opportunity to engage in a formal research project with its point of departure in this same suburb. With my PhD dissertation as the framework, the results of part of my work with the suburb of Hvidovre are now available.

With an academic background in a master's degree in history, my workplace has been cultural-heritage institutions in Hvidovre Municipality, from the *Local History Project* and *Hvidovre Municipality's Local History Archive* through *House of History Hvidovre* to *Forstadsmuseet* (The Museum of the Suburb).

It is within this institutional framework that my work with the suburb has developed. In a discipline where the focus has alternated between the material and the non-material, views and statements, I have situated myself in a field which was not formerly so crowded. It has happily become so in recent years.

The placing of Forstadsmuseet on the outskirts of the state-canonized cultural-heritage world – but amidst an almost unbounded municipal trust in the disciplinary relevance of the institution – has given me the freedom to define the working methods and field of the institution.

A life-long preoccupation with a subject that has been played down, neglected and scorned so much has been a source of great pleasure to me. After, all everyone loves his or her own 'hobby horse', but I have further had the privilege of working with a field of study which throughout the past few decades has become ever more central to the work with the new urban history – and this in a phase when the city as a field of historical study has become strengthened.

Through my work with the suburb, I have profited from inspiring collaborations which have guided me towards new aspects of suburban history, its exploration and communication. An early collaboration with the chief consultant Lisbeth Magnussen, *mag. art.*, taught me quickly to look impartially at the most recent history and at the linkage between local history and local identity formation. Together we wrote the book *Bredalsparken*, 1989, which also helped to open my eyes to the history and role of the non-profit housing sector in the suburbs.

Many years of sparring with my historian colleague Hans Christian Thomsen, with

whom I wrote the book *52 historier fra Hvidovre*, 1997, helped to sharpen my appreciation of the potential of local history in current local planning and policy and helped me to maintain my direct pleasure in ‘the good story’.

Town planner Kirsten Andersen introduced me to town-planning history circles where I have benefited greatly from many years in *Byplanhistorisk Udvalg* (The Town Planning History Committee) under the Town Planning Laboratory. Museum curator Lisbeth Hollensen has provided professional sparring on the *cases* in the dissertation. My other colleagues at Forstads museet have all contributed to making this dissertation possible by sparing me many of the tasks that could have deflected the focus on the work far too much and by demonstrating that the museum could easily be both managed and developed in my absence.

As a supervisor Professor Mogens Rüdiger has not least been a good pilot through the bureaucratic waters of the university world, but has also done his part to ensure the progress and broader disciplinary grounding of the project. As opponent at my pre-defense I thank Mikkel Thelle, director at the Danish Centre for Urban History.

I must thank Hvidovre Municipality for securing the financial framework of the project and showing me the trust that has been necessary to its implementation.

Finally and not least, I owe my wife Ulla a great debt of gratitude for support and indulgence when reading, writing and a number of unavoidable official duties periodically lowered my stress threshold.

Hvidovre, June 2016

Poul Sverrild

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West of Copenhagen the suburban layers of urbanization built over over the past century illustrate the changing planning ideals of architects alongside the constantly realized garden-houses built by citizens. At the front allotment-gardens. In the middle to the right a park-scape of brick-built social-housing blocks from early 1950's. To the left Corbusier-inspired concrete highrise from the late 1950's and above the seemingly endless single-family-house areas in Hvidovre subdivided since 1909. The centre of Copenhagen hides at the very top. About 1960.

Forstadsmuseet B118

1 INTRODUCTION

'For a brief moment he almost understood the innermost nature of the suburbs, their invisibly vegetative calm, their strange dream of feasting on the life of the city without giving anything in return'.¹

The suburb has been viewed, not least in the western world, as a common acquaintance. It has now accompanied us for generations, and from the outset has divided opinions by demanding from us an attitude to it. Across time, space, culture and class, attitudes to the suburb have changed regularly, and have adapted to changing economic situations – the suburbs have never been a matter of indifference.

The suburbs in the modern sense have been a condition of life for ever-growing parts of the world population for more than two centuries; in the first part of the period primarily in the western world, but after the middle of the twentieth century in particular in the Third World, where growth has not least created slum suburbs in which, around the turn of the last century, there lived no fewer than one billion people – a figure that is expected to double towards 2030.²

Industrialization created and accompanied modern suburban development, which came to transform the familiar framework and conditions of the city to an extent where the new urban population ended up in and created a new urban structure that could not be contained within the familiar city. The predominant form in which much of the growth took place was variations on the earlier known suburbs, but with the acceleration in the degree of urbanization and urbanization's cultural and geographical globalization ever- new urban variants appeared and are still appearing to attract attention and create new terms meant to help us to relate to the phenomena.³

The globalization of the suburb and the underlying capital are underscored by the contemporaneity in the development, on the one hand, of variants on the unregulated growth in the marginal zones of the urban structures in the form of favelas, shanty-towns and townships and not least the Asian mega-city's high-rise 'towns', which for their part represent variations on Le Corbusier's dream of the vertical city; and on the other hand of the thoroughly regulated suburban growth and conversion in the early-

¹ Holm, B.Q.: *Hafnia Punk*, 1998.

² Jauhiainen, J.S., "Suburbs", in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 2013, p. 797.

³ See chapter ?, "Components and phases in Danish suburban history".

urbanized parts of the world.

Urban historians point back to the fact that suburb formation was a phenomenon that already appeared in connection with the earliest city formations,⁴ and if we stick with the original suburban concept based on settlements placed outside the actual structure of the city, there is naturally a physical/descriptive connection with the suburbs of later industrial society. The current suburb originates in the same mechanisms, the growth of the city and mankind's wish/opportunity for alternatives to the classically urban, while volume, form and the relationship to the city must be found on other scales when it comes to the modern suburb.

During their growth, the suburbs of industrialization created new forms, frameworks and conditions in the shadow of the city. This has happened regularly in a developmental dialogue where the city has constantly represented authenticity and authority based on its far greater age and postulated greater complexity. By virtue of the city's original monopoly of higher-education institutions and its monopoly of culture and opinion compared with the suburbs, it is no wonder that the suburbs, with a few exceptions, have played the role of 'cuckoos in the nest' which increasingly, with unlovely plumage, filled that nest and ousted everything and everyone, in the sense of good taste, high culture and the meaningful life. The only exceptions in the Copenhagen urban landscape seem to be early 'Danicized' manifestation of the garden-city ideal whose attractiveness constantly seems to grow.



With his wall painting from the beginning of this century at Islands Brygge in Copenhagen the artist 'HuskMitNavn' (RememberMyName) captured the essence of the current victory of the suburb in centre-close urban conversion areas.

Mikkell Thelle, 2010

⁴ Van de Mierop, M.: *The Ancient Mesopotamian City*, 1997, p. 72.

At present the suburbs seem in many places to have triumphed over the city not only in terms of volume (area and population); over the past few decades the suburbs have been viewed in terms of both physical form and social function as intruding into the centre of the classic city. This is happening in conjunction with cultural phenomena such as the privatization of space and the adoption of the house-with-garden's access to vegetable gardening, and it is happening in the form of physical intrusion, as the establishment of the suburb's typical building and home types near the centre of the city.⁵

But as early as the end of the 1970s architectural features from suburban buildings were introduced in the city in connection with the clearance of the *-bro* neighbourhoods. In Nørrebro, for example, closed block projects with large interconnected garden spaces and terraced blocks copied suburban architecture from the period after the end of the 1930s.

The suburbs around Copenhagen symbolically had their placing and function in the urban landscape cemented by the American invention of the board game Monopoly,⁶ which appeared in Danish in 1936 under the name 'Matador'. In the Danish version the board game commented very accurately on its time with respect to the social geography of the new urban landscape with its centre and periphery in the new socially segregated industrial city. It was to turn out to be a statement with a durability presumably unanticipated at the time.

There are now many of us who carry the suburbs within us, and some of the ever-growing suburban literature of the past few years is the work of authors who bring a personal relationship with the subject to the work. And so it is with this dissertation.

In 1992, in an article in the periodical *Fortid og Nutid* I made my first coherent attempt at a historical outline of the suburban development around Copenhagen from the lookout point provided by my place of work at the Hvidovre Local Archives. I

⁵ One example is the 'Radio Rows' at Islands Brygge in Copenhagen, which the developers may call "townhouses", comparing them to Kartoffelrækkerne and Brumleby. But very characteristically, both reference projects were meant at the time of construction as suburban projects in reaction to the irregular and densely built city of the time! With a sales text like: "*The Radio Rows give young families the opportunity to buy a modern, functional and sustainable row house 1.5 km from City Hall Square*", the project developers give a clear picture of the physical reference – the row house in a suburb – but adapted to a current requirement for reference to the centre, not the periphery. *Radiatorækkerne – et projekt, der får By- og Familieliv til at spille sammen*. Tetris A/S, folder, n.d. See appendix 1.

⁶ Monopoly appeared for the first time in 1933 and had the American tourist and gaming city Atlantic City as its framework. Under the name 'Matador' it hit Denmark in 1936 and ranked addresses in Copenhagen and environs.

began the article with a quotation from Martin Andersen Nexø's *Pelle the Conqueror*, in which, as in a dream, he heralded the relocation of the workers the city to the countryside.⁷

It was a dream with lines going back to Karl Marx's visualization of fully developed socialism, in which the population was to live the good life in archaic surroundings. When the literary dream of relocation from town to countryside became a reality for the many, it came to transform both countryside and town, and along the way suburbs were created which were to spread throughout most of the twentieth century and fill the country.

As a totality, the suburbs were filled up with a wide cross-section of the population of the country, but distributed over a new, striking social geography. Then at the end of the twentieth century the development was reversed, the developmental dynamics abandoned the outskirts of the city, and the suburbs are now instead bringing to the central parts of the city new ideals, functions and aesthetics which have their roots precisely in the developmental history of the suburbs, but which in the centre of the city seem to represent neoliberal logics.

This dissertation is among other things an attempt to establish a continuous series of pictures of a specific suburban developmental history in the periurban phase. It encompasses changes from the earliest rural displacement processes through the establishment of the immature suburb, its expansion (spatially) and its maturation process (the conversion of buildings and other features for permanent purposes).

It is the physical, demographic and cultural stages of the whole life cycle that a suburban municipality has undergone, from bare field to complete development, that is the framework of the dissertation and which define its consistent theme. Central to the dissertation is the relationship between the physical form of the suburb and its social function. This relationship points forward to the conditions that subsequently applied to the building stock of the suburbs in terms of preservation value. The role of the suburbs in the canonized cultural heritage is to a high degree defined by the social geography and chronology of the urban landscape.

Hvidovre Municipality is the dissertation's 'case'. This is a natural choice, because it excellently exemplifies the suburban development in the part of the capital's social geography that became the lot of the working class and middle classes in the twentieth century, and then of course because for many years it has been the subject of my

⁷ Sverrild, P.: "Forstaden – byens forlængelse – ny by – eller?", *Fortid og Nutid*, Dec. 1992 p. 237. The quote is from Andersen Nexø, M.: *Pelle Erobreren*, 1910

historical work.

As a result of the Municipal Reform of 1970/74, for almost the last fifty years, of all the suburbs in Denmark, only the Copenhagen ones have been independent political / administrative actors. For that reason the picture of the industrial city's suburban formation, growth, life and social structure has been painted differently from those of the other cities in the country, where throughout the twentieth century and not least with the Municipal Reform of 1970 the suburbs were incorporated in accordance with the urban logic whereby the old city is naturally the centre and the suburbs consequently periphery.

In Hvidovre it is possible to follow the development through the periurban processes – as expressed for example in the developments related to ownership and use. Here we find the whole succession of the period's typical suburban-historical transitional forms from original agriculture through specialized crop production and leisure-home settlement; here we see the mixed commercial and housing areas of the inter-war years in the single-family-home neighbourhoods; here too the whole post-war palette of government-loan houses and non-profit housing forms from the now-classic park projects through avant-garde experimental projects to modernism's totally-planned town; here we have the zoning landscapes with industrial neighbourhoods, welfare complexes, housing areas and infrastructural barriers.

Physically, 150 years of suburban history have left their mark on the urban landscape. Alongside this it is possible here to trace the actions and reactions of the periphery in connection with developmental upheavals.

In the debate which has been constantly present since the end of the seventies over the function and future of the suburbs as an element in the urban landscape, the premise is that the suburbs are in themselves a problem, and that the late welfare suburbs in particular are the pivot on which socio-economic and cultural success and failure turn. This premise is grounded in a critique of modernism which since the great paradigm shift in the wake of '68 has increasingly set the norm.

This approach to the suburbs, alongside the later environmental approach which focuses on among other features the inappropriateness of continuing resource-straining expansion of the twentieth century's greatest housing success, the single-family house, has meant that the suburbs are viewed as a problem – not as a solution.

It may therefore be relevant to cast a glance at the developmental history of the suburbs, which comprise much more than the middle-class residential neighbourhood,



The huge social housing projects planned in the 1960's and built in the years round 1970 have become the emblem of the suburbs' illnesses'. They seem to confirm the ideas of suburbia as a concept with an unambiguous interpretation.

Poul Sverrild, 2010

the welfare suburb and the single-family-home town. The suburbs span a whole range of social and physical structures and functions which have arisen over time and which emerge as complex today with all their layers.

*'The suburban world of European cities is a socially diversified space; that is, segmented in different peripheries around the central city. There are the traditional working-class suburbs, often organized around large public housing estates, lately in home ownership. There are the new towns French, British or Swedish, inhabited by a younger population of the middle classes, whose age made it difficult for them to penetrate the housing market of the central city. And there are also the peripheral ghettos of older public housing estates, exemplified by Paris' La Courneuve, where new immigrant populations and poor working families experience exclusion from their 'right to the city'. Suburbs are also the locus of manufacturing production in European cities, both for traditional manufacturing and for new, high-technology industries that locate in the newest and environmentally most desirable peripheries of metropolitan areas, close enough to the communication centers but removed from old industrial districts'.*⁸

⁸ Castell, M. *The Rise of the Networks Society*, 2000, p. 432.

In the global perspective the complexity is no less. Here the time dimension shifts and the physicality becomes even more composite with borrowings from the city, the old suburb and the new urbanized structures in the Third World, and it becomes even clearer that one cannot speak of a universal life-mode that can be associated with the suburbs.

‘I would argue that suburbs are best defined as a category of settlement that is one of the many types of the built environment of housing settlement types, commercial and industrial spaces, as well as infrastructures that include high-rise apartments, town houses, condominiums, family homes, and illegal settlements that are now part of the emerging fabric of an urbanized world. There is no evidence that this form of suburbia reflects a universal lifestyle that can be identified as “suburbanism” [...] it seems increasingly evident that they exhibit at a global, national, and local level increasing diversity and hybridity which is both a strength and challenge for the new urban theories that are emerging in the twenty-first century’.⁹

Although the modern suburbs have been part of the urban structure in Denmark since the middle of the nineteenth century, as objects of Danish conservational and cultural-heritage thinking they are still very new. In this country it was not until around the turn of the millennium that the suburbs as a phenomenon made their entry into the governmental cultural-heritage work. This happened among other ways with the nationwide mapping of preservation-worthy industrial monuments launched by the Cultural Heritage Agency.

This mapping pointed to planned industrial areas in the modern city – for example Valby, Gladsaxe and Avedøre – as bearers of cultural heritage, and so the functionally subdivided suburb came into focus in the government cultural-heritage efforts.¹⁰ The subsequent ‘cultural-heritage municipality’ experiments for which the Cultural Heritage Agency took the initiative in 2005 in collaboration with Realdania came closer to the object when Hvidovre Municipality became one of the first four municipalities to be singled out for a project that concentrated on the suburb’s functionally separated districts and neighbourhoods.¹¹ Later Realdania has funded a major mapping project with a view to typologizing the constructional and settlement structures that characterized and organized Danish suburbs in the period between 1945

⁹ McGee, T., “Suburbanization in the Twenty-First-Century World”, in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p. 25.

¹⁰ Kulturstyrelsen.dk: *Regionale Industriminder*. Rapporter fra de Regionale Kulturmiljøråd 2004-2005.

¹¹ Kulturstyrelsen.dk: *Kulturarvskommuner*. Hvidovre Kommune: *Kulturarvskommune Hvidovre*, 2006. Application.

and 1989.¹²

Prior to this a few suburbs had been admitted to finer company along with the classic cities in the National Agency for Physical Planning's publication of the series of Municipal and Urban District Atlases. In this case, though, there was no overall theoretical approach to the suburbs as a special urban phenomenon, and the publications focused less on specific suburban issues than on building-specific and culture-environmental relations to general conservational values.



A large number of farm-buildings in Hvidovre was exposed to fire during the proces from periurban to suburban. In 1961 fire put an end to Hvidovres last family farm, Åstrupgård.

Forstadmuseet B1496

It has only been with the now urgent renewal issues surrounding the extensive projects in the suburbs from the post-war era that the state authorities have begun to focus in earnest on the identification of conservation values in the suburbs. Although the protection of buildings has made impacts in the suburb, this has not been a matter of the suburbs as urban typology, but of individual architectural works – precisely as in

¹² *Forstadens bygningskultur 1945-1989: På sporet af velfærdsforstadens bevaringsværdier*, Dansk Bygningsarv 2010.

the middle-class city.

Most recently the initial general mapping efforts have led to the first protection cases related to the post-war suburb. This dissertation ends with an attempt to position the local history of Hvidovre in relation to conservational practice in the suburb.

Not least against the background of the above-mentioned initiatives from the state and the foundation, the suburbs have now been firmly established as a valuable and relevant part of history and the cultural heritage. Subsequently a discussion of – on the one hand – values, goals and instruments and – on the other – actions will be a pressing need.

The suburbs have not only been built on the city's dreams of the good life; they were also built on a rural population's interpretation of the possibilities of creating a homeliness in the city. The suburbs were created as a function of the city, but along the way made their own effort to assume responsibility and create something new. The suburb became a success to such an extent that today we see its characteristics invading the core city for better or worse with increasing segregation, privatization and individualized and individualizing dwelling types on the one hand and open city gardens, traffic reductions and local community initiatives on the other.

Today there is a broad consensus that the suburbs are much more than the original city's hinterland, and they are much more than the stereotyped representations we encounter in literature in the wider sense. They have become their own urban structures, major stakeholders in the urban landscape and have become history – and like the rest of the city still-living history.

The history of the transformations, the new structures, forms and functions is also the history of the creation of the basis for new urban definitions; and the narrative of the perceptions of the suburbs through changing times is also the narrative of the path of a new field of history into the canon, and the physicality of a new urbanity into the cultural heritage.

Without this history, the suburbs risk being reduced to just that – mere history.



One-family house on Risbjerggårds Alle from the 1930's just before demolition. Not as an element in a process from suburban to urban but from working-class to middle-class suburb. The local variations in the evolution of each suburb will be evident when observations from the periphery shed light on the actual happenings.

The process of substituting old derelict houses came late to Hvidovre - not caused by a high original building quality but due to lack of status caused by specific events and actions in Hvidovres periurban phase.

Poul Sverrild 2015

2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

The suburbs are the landscape of myth par excellence, which is not strange because myths thrive in the half-light of a lack of knowledge. Although the modern Danish suburbs are now more than 150 years old, they are spoken about as one unambiguous subject, the 'suburb', which is perceived as well known by virtue of the stereotypes established around it.

But a growing number of international and Danish suburb-historical studies indicate that the local variation is greater than the stereotypes dictate, and this has spawned a movement in theory formation towards the view that the suburbs are by definition more complex than previously thought.

This points to the need to exemplify the local variation through surveys of suburbs which are characterized, among other things, by having profiles that have not previously held a great deal of interest for the research conducted in key research institutions and taking a starting point in the city centre.

Access to the source material generated in and by each suburb and the rendering visible of the periphery have been facilitated by the emergence of new cultural-historical institutions in the suburbs. It is therefore now possible to ask questions about urbanization which, with a point of departure in the periphery, can be expected to complete and correct the existing picture of the suburbs and their history.

On the basis of Richard Harris' identification of the periurban phase¹³ as the space where the prerequisites for the frame of development of the individual suburb were defined, the thesis seeks to answer the following key questions

What conditions over the almost two centuries from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 20th century had a significant impact on the suburb of Hvidovre's relation to the city, to its location in the social geography of the urban landscape and to the built landscape?

What has been the distribution of roles between centre and periphery during the period and how has the relationship between centre and periphery affected Hvidovre's development during the 'rural periurban/suburban' process?

The above questions are fundamental to the thesis and are based on surprise that Copenhagen suburban history and its resulting landscape appear so simple and almost programmatically clear.

¹³ Harris, R., *How Land Markets Make and Change Suburbs*, in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, Jovis Verlag Berlin 2013. For my approach to the periurban concept see pages 42-46.

In the existing Danish literature, the entrenched explanation of local differences within the general picture of the overall Copenhagen suburban landscapes is based not least on the view of landscape that prevailed throughout the 19th century and on the localization of a royal presence. Is it really that simple? We can only know the answer when the whole subject – including the underexposed history of suburban development history – has been studied.



The early standardized and very small 'Phønix-houses' from the 1920's were built in large numbers in precisely Hvidovre due to the low price of land which again was due to the low status of the local housing-market. This to a large degree was determined by the local handling of the housing-crisis arising from WWI. The very small houses holding only 65 m² were intended for the poorer segments of the population for whom Hvidovre ought to be acceptable. Like many later experimental housing-projects the 'Phønix-houses' in the end turned out to be too expensive. So the houses that were intended as rented housing had to be sold individually a few years later. (See also ill. pag. 14)

Poul Sverrild 2008

The introduction of the concept of a periurban phase prior to the existence of the suburb establishes a space for examination that could provide answers to what happened in the locality in the period that formed the basis for the establishment of the suburb.

A necessary background for working with Hvidovre suburban development in terms of this perspective involves knowledge of specific features in the prior history of Hvidovre village and of Copenhagen suburban history in general.

It is thus important to consider whether the Copenhagen suburb can meaningfully be structured and categorized over time. The study will therefore attempt to relate Hvidovre's suburban development to both the national and the international framework offered by suburban history.

As a preliminary, the thesis must be related in particular to the suburban research of the English-speaking world, which has dominated the field of suburban history not only by virtue of having defined the terminology, but also by having created the physical frame of reference and a strong research tradition.

At the national level, the thesis must relate to Danish stereotypes of the villa neighbourhood, the single-family house and the garden city, as the traditional narrative was established in studies of suburbs with other social characteristics than Hvidovre's.

The choice of Hvidovre among the Copenhagen suburbs means relating to 'the ordinary', understood as the opposite of 'the unique'. The choice conforms to a current view of the classic social-democratic welfare municipality Hvidovre, but it also calls for a study of the path that led Hvidovre there. A path that may well turn out to be 'unique'.

To put it quite simply, it is my hope that by uncovering a suburban story from the part of the suburbs that has not formed the nucleus in historiography, the thesis may shed light on the complexity that lies behind the emergence of any suburb, and may become part of the individual suburb's local identity.



Cartoon dealing with the Phønix-Houses (see also ill. pag. 12). The early experimental house-type was developed on state-initiative as an answer to the Danish housing-shortage after WWI.

Stereotyping the suburban lifestyle and building-stock occurred within the first decade after the development of the first suburbs around Copenhagen as pointed out in chapter 6.

The construction of the earliest Danish mass-produced one-family houses in the 1920's provoked a similar reaction - standardized surroundings shape standardized lives!

It is significant that similarly standardized multistory dwellings in urban surroundings from the preceding decades never seem to call for this kind of stereotyping.

The fact that the houses in this case were designed for the working-classes, were placed in a new part of the urban landscape and even presented new construction-principles contributed to the feeling of suburban 'otherness' communicated by the artist in this contribution to a satirical magazine.

Christian Hoff, Svikmøllen, 1924

3 TEMPORAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

Time and geography create the space in which the topics and agents of the thesis unfold. The temporal limitation of the thesis follows from the analyses conducted while the thesis was in progress. At the start of the project, the timeframe placed the beginning around 1900, when the earliest signs of urbanization were observable in Hvidovre in the form of single-family subdivisions and the initial presence of citizens with business connections to the Copenhagen labour market. However, because of the project's studies and with a theoretical basis in the use of the 'periurban' conceptual framework, I had to move the temporal boundary of the thesis back to the late 1700s.

Similarly, the endpoint was originally about 1980 when the major paradigm shift around the Danish suburban settlement structures physically broke through. This was the time when the major industrialized housing plans were finally rolled out and had demonstrated their weaknesses, and when the functional pathway to Danish housing welfare in the suburbs was replaced by neo-urban aspirations.

The focus of the investigation on the potentials of the periurban phase means that the temporal conclusion must now be the time around WWII, when future physical urbanization in Hvidovre was narrowed through the final decisions to use the last vacant land for public housing projects. From then on, the development of Hvidovre was entirely within the bounds of local basis and national physical planning.

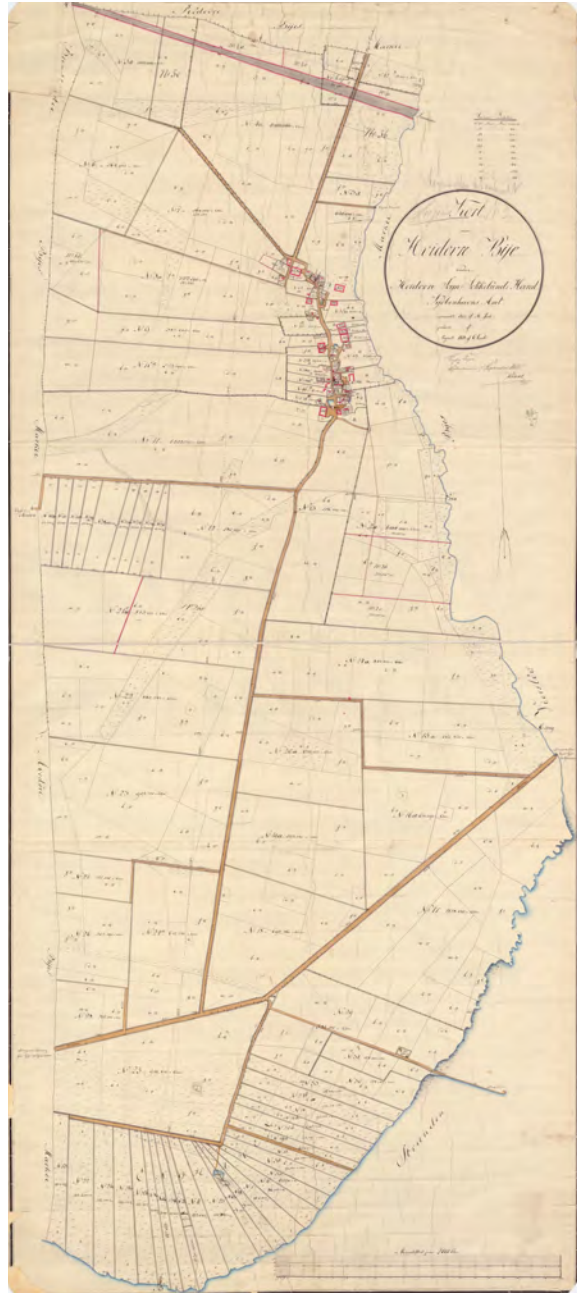
Unlike the periodization in the thesis, the decision concerning the geographical framework was not only determined by insights gained from the studies I conducted. The geographical space was also defined by the relations between the available time, the disciplinary aim, the project format and the project's institutional placement.

For a study with a micro-historical approach, it will always be relevant to ask how small 'micro' can be in terms of maintaining validity in relation to the questions asked. Taking a point of departure in this problem, I have decided that the geographical framework for the micro-historical investigations should be adapted to the political-administrative reality of the specific period – in other words the changing administrative ties to the area between Copenhagen and Hvidovre have influenced my choice of the field of analysis.

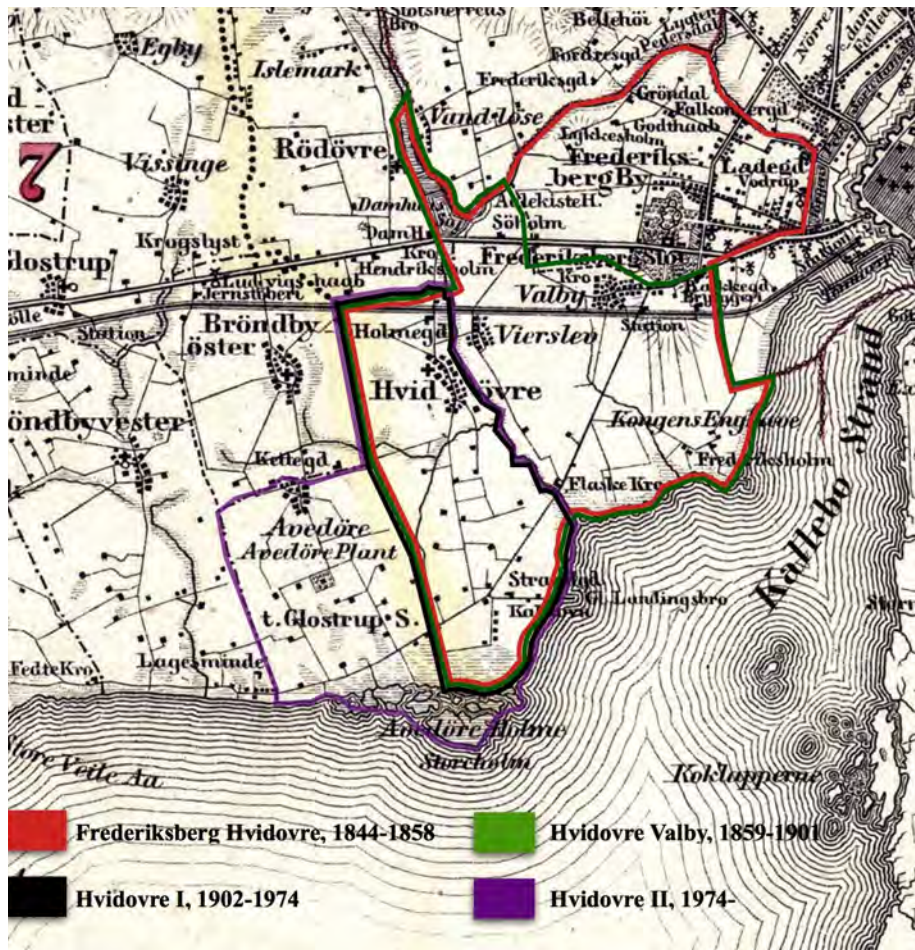
The overall geographical frame of reference in the thesis consists of the changing urbanized area in Copenhagen during the period, but the case-based geography unfolds within the context of the changing administrative units which have

Map showing the village Hvidovre and its surrounding farmland after the enclosure in 1779 but still with the farms situated in the village. Map from 1813 with additions from the 1840's. (Note the railway crossing the northern part of the area.) With about 30 farms and about 50 houses the village was a little above average size in the area. What is shown here is the only geographical area which has been a constant part of all four municipalities existing since the 1840's where Hvidovre has been a part.

<http://hkpn.gst.dk/>



constituted the municipality of Hvidovre over time. The village of Hvidovre with its adjoining land is the recurring subject of the micro-historical studies. 'Hvidovre ejerlav' (Hvidovre homeowners' association) is the geographical unit that has been part of all municipal versions of Hvidovre from 1803 until the present day.



The municipality of Hvidovre went through four stages between 1844 and 1974 involving two divisions and one addition. This moved the municipality west but the municipality of Copenhagen has been the constant neighbour to the east. This political/administrative relocation illustrates the urbanization-process in the shape of growth rings. Drawn on section of map from 1855.

<http://hkpn.gst.dk/mapviewer.aspx?type=lkaManza&id=17503>

Since the introduction of municipal organization with the 1841 Act on Municipal Councils, which had precursors in the early 1800s, Hvidovre has been a changing geographical/political/administrative unit.¹⁴

The spatial development of the Hvidovre municipality is part of the broader history of the Copenhagen suburbs, and the changing geography forms part of this work as a key element in the framing of analyses and case studies.

The view from Hvidovre, respectively of the history of the central city and of suburban development in the rest of the circle from the south to the north of Copenhagen, has been an essential backdrop for the history of development in the Hvidovre sector of the hinterland of the city.

Similarly, examples of international suburban development have been included when they present new opportunities for understanding local phenomena. Sidelights from the international history and understanding of the suburbs are employed to help to highlight local suburban history as the unique place-bound suburban reality that it is. The level of the involvement of regional and international suburban history is tailored to the achievement of a more balanced understanding of the individual suburb ranging from the general to the specific, and from the centre to the periphery.

Among the aspects of suburban development that seems to disappear in the ruling centre-periphery angle on suburbia is the cultural dominance of the rural background of many early suburbanites. This advertisement in a Hvidovre weekly aimed at owners of one-family houses praises poultry feed.

Parcellisten 10. June 1927



¹⁴ Frederiksberg-Hvidovre Municipal had already become a 'municipal' unit with the Act of June 5 1803 on the rules for poor relief in rural areas.

WHY CONSIDER HVIDOVRE HOUSEOWNERS' ASSOCIATION WITHIN THE LARGER MUNICIPALITY?

The choice of the original Hvidovre Houseowners' Association as the consistent unit means that I have refrained from systematically monitoring developments in Frederiksberg, Valby, Vigerslev, Kongens Enghave and Avedøre (all of which have been parts of the municipalities that Hvidovre was once a part of) to the same extent as central Hvidovre.

These past and present parts of the municipality have been included to the extent that they are relevant to the above considerations. The choice of the individual houseowners' association as the consistent case is ideal for having a basis of understanding for the part of Hvidovre's developmental history which took the village from a long-term stable state as a purely agriculturally-based social unit to a fundamentally new unit where land use was once more well-defined and apparently well-established for an period extending into the future – now as part of a post-modern megalopolis.

A unifying factor for the periodization of the whole thesis is the transition from a pre-urban to a suburban state through a series of changes. In the spatial dimension, Hvidovre is discussed as a 'periurban' sphere, and Hvidovre's 'periurban' phase is discussed in the chronological dimension.

After the end of the periurban phase followed a completion phase during which the early post-war long-term land use decisions were implemented. After the end of the 1970s, the municipality of Hvidovre moved into a phase of apparent developmental standstill. After the start of the new millennium, this standstill potentially seems to have been replaced by a new developmental paradigm in which Hvidovre, now as an older and more developed suburban structure, could be the object of developmental measures that pointed to new forms of the urban within the framework of the suburban reality.

There are several reasons for the choice of Hvidovre. First, as mentioned, in the local context the Hvidovre Houseowners' Association was involved in the entire previous 214 years of the life of the municipal regime (in the broad sense) and even comprised the entire municipality for 73 of these years. In comparison with this permanence, Frederiksberg was included for 55 years, Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave for 98 years and, at the time of writing, Avedøre for 41 years.

There is more about the 55-year union with Frederiksberg in the thesis than about the 98 years of municipal union with Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave (and the far longer municipal relations), because of Frederiksberg's special developmental history as the seat of a royal residence with associated urban development trends. The cohesion with Frederiksberg coincided in time with Hvidovre's earliest periurban phase, and the strong development in Frederiksberg came to influence developments in Hvidovre significantly.

The separation from Frederiksberg in the late 1850s was a real break, since after this the two municipalities had no common interfaces, geographically, developmentally, culturally or in terms of self-image.

Although the municipal separation from Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave first occurred in 1901, and there had been opportunities for experiencing shared urbanization stages, this was not the case during this period. The break along Harrestrup Å was therefore effective. The divested parts of the municipality became neighbourhoods in the municipality of Copenhagen and from then on did not have an opportunity to establish contacts with Hvidovre at the local level. The relationship between Hvidovre and the areas to the east became an asymmetrical relationship between the small rural municipality and the large metropolitan one.

Relations with the last partner in Hvidovre municipality, Avedøre, which became part of Hvidovre in 1974, are completely different. At the time of this union, the periurban stage of both Hvidovre and Avedøre had been completed for some time – without Hvidovre having had any influence on Avedøre's development. Avedøre's role was largely to underline the impact of the direction of development that Hvidovre had taken (or had been given) during urbanization.

The chronological boundaries of the thesis have meant that Avedøre is the part of the historical area of the municipality of Hvidovre that is least prominent, but Avedøre's history, like that of the other neighbouring regions, is included to the extent that is relevant for understanding the urbanization processes in Hvidovre .

WHY HVIDOVRE IN THE COPENHAGEN SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE?

The choice of Hvidovre rather than the other Copenhagen suburbs means the choice of a section of the suburban landscape. The cut has a geographical, a periodization-related and a social dimension. In the highly structured social geography around Copenhagen, the choice of Hvidovre means the selection of a period in the middle of the great Copenhagen urbanization story during which residential land

development began around the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

The inclusion of Frederiksberg in the thesis ensures that Hvidovre as a case can be positioned relative to the earliest suburban development in Copenhagen. In addition, with the placing by the thesis of the end of Hvidovre's periurban phase in 1930-50, the overall planning history of Greater Copenhagen also plays its small role, and in turn Hvidovre maintains its space outside the planning development that broke through when Hvidovre's periurban phase had just been completed.

With all due respect for the specific history of the individual municipalities, Hvidovre's developmental chronology and demography matched an approximately parallel chronology and demography in Rødovre, Herlev and parts of Gladsaxe municipalities to the north and Tårnby municipality to the east. Hvidovre also shares its less explored urbanization history with them. But as will hopefully be seen, site-specific agents meant that the development took different courses that naturally led to different conditions – which appear clearly today in terms of demographics, politics, culture etc.

Delving into Hvidovre in the midst of this seemingly homogeneous suburban mass makes it very clear that the development narrative here is quite as individual as in other suburbs. The suburbs north of Copenhagen have well-described individual histories, and in that context can provide good background examples of alternative suburbanization models.

WHY THIS SMALL UNIT?

Ejerlavet Hvidovre (the Houseowners' Association of Hvidovre) is of a size, geographically and demographically, which up to the 1930s enables studies at the micro-level that make sense for the selected structuring of the thesis, and which fit within the framework of the task. With a property-owning structure which included fewer than 100 properties in 1901, and a population that was less than 1,000 right up until 1920, it is possible to track and follow the small movements that heralded changes in local conditions.

The choice of the individual village as a case makes it clearly relevant to utilize Hvidovre's long history as a framing story in a comprehensible form. The need to do this is a perfect illustration of the absence of an existing older historiography. This history illustrates the possibilities and the contents of local historical identity formation and is a necessary platform for subsequent discussions of the external perception of the locality of Hvidovre.

With its geographical demarcation, the work includes strong elements of the 'regional research' of the past, involving

'... as far as possible a first-hand investigation of the peculiar nature and culture of the local region to obtain an overview of its development from the past to the present with guidelines for its future'.¹⁵

This study shares the desire of the older definition for basic, local empirical studies of the physical condition of the place in the form of a natural and culturally-given framework, as well as its aspiration to enrich future development through its contribution to the available knowledge. A return to the 'regional angle', but now with a conscious focus on the relationship between centre and periphery and the influence of power relations on the development of the 'home region', requires analysis and conclusions which may have general and local relevance at one and the same time.

The rejection of the municipality of Hvidovre as it existed at any given time as a general framework for the thesis, and the corresponding rejection of the currently-existing Hvidovre municipality, weakens the possibility keeping a systematic focus on the relationship over time between geography and developmental dynamics in the empirical data of the thesis. However, it does not weaken the possibility of examining centre-periphery relations between city and suburb.

At the same time, the mechanisms that were associated with the geographical changes are well illustrated in the literature and have of course been included in the thesis. The choice of the small unit in the long perspective also serves to emphasize the importance of temporality that is often overlooked in urban-historical approaches to the suburbs.

At all events, the choice of the Hvidovre Houseowners' Association as the constant in the thesis facilitates the illustration of the overall general developmental history of the period. This was when the public sector, from State to county and municipality, and from Parliament to county council and municipal council, then later from Parliament to local authority, assumed ever greater roles throughout the period, but with changing interrelationships.

On the basis of a structure with the Hvidovre Houseowners' Association as the general geographical framework, and the inclusion of divested and added neighbouring areas, the thesis can illuminate and discuss the whole suburban

¹⁵ Knudsen, R. (ed.) *Haandbog i Hjemstavnsforskning og Hjemstavnskultur*, Copenhagen 1939, p. 9.

history of Hvidovre from the first tentative periurban activities in the late 1700s to the establishment of a framework for future land use in 1930-50.

Working with Hvidovre's periurban phase in the 1800s in particular has required some analysis of the corresponding period in Valby and Frederiksberg as Hvidovre's dependence on these parts of the then municipality became visible.

REPRESENTATIVITY

The micro-historical approach necessitates the choice of a manageable unit, and the question of the relevance and representativity that the choice of each individual location involves can be asked about any locality, whether suburban or non-suburban.

Former urban-history approaches to the suburbs perceived them as a relatively uniform structure in a predictable urban system, but numerous case studies throughout the western world have demonstrated that this is not the case, despite the fact that the focus has been on the middle class.

*'Until relatively recently most social studies of suburban living were about the white middle classes in the Anglo-American suburbs, working-class suburbs were relatively understudied, and ethnic suburban settlements were largely, if not completely, ignored...'*¹⁶

Internationally, the focus is moving from location-based studies and in the direction of broader analyses of social processes that are viewed without the classic dichotomy between centre and periphery, but now in a fundamental and growing understanding of suburban diversity.¹⁷ But in the light of the above quote, it is obvious that we still lack local studies that underpin the understanding of the suburbs as differentiated urban structures with individual features whose roots can be found in the process of becoming.

¹⁶ Clapson, M., Hutchison, R. *Suburbanization in Global Society, Research in Urban Sociology*, Vol. 10, 2010, p. 6.

¹⁷ Jauhiainen, J. S., "Suburbs" in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 2013, p. 792.

Once it is internationally established that '*[the] diversity of suburbs is certainly not lesser than the one characterizing central cities*',¹⁸ it becomes essential to document it for the suburbs also, whose starting point was not middle-class.

The choice of Hvidovre as a case in a thesis on suburban history must therefore be substantiated as much – or as little – as in an urban-historical one.

The representativity of the Hvidovre case should therefore only be understood in so far as the perspective of the thesis ensures an understanding of how the particular story of Hvidovre broadly relates to the history of other suburbs. This is not a comparative analysis where the history of Hvidovre is compared with a similar – or different – suburban history.

Within the framework of the current understanding of Danish and international suburban history, the case of Hvidovre must explore ways of identifying the factors behind and underlying urbanization that had a significant impact on the direction that suburban development took locally.

¹⁸ Hamel, P., "Governance and Global Suburbanisms", in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag, Berlin 2013, p. 30.



The first minute book from the houseowners association 'Grundejerforeningen Stengaarden Hvidovre' founded 1910. The associations have left well-preserved archives, that illustrate the conditions and concerns of the first generations of migrants to the one-family-house suburbs.

Forstadmuseet A8

4 METHOD AND MATERIAL

My historical work on the development of Hvidovre Municipality has been set in relation to the literature and tradition of Danish and international suburban history and theory. As described, the suburb as a historical and contemporary object has been surrounded by a wealth of notions that present it as one-dimensional/ homogeneous, alien and a locus of stereotypes. These notions are of course based on specific physical/social phenomena, each of which can be located geographically, temporally and/or ideologically, but they have usually been accorded general validity.

The changing relationships between the suburbs and the mother city, with the surrounding cityscape and the regional and central authorities, are treated in the thesis, since the modern Danish suburb is part of a story where public and central planning, control and intervention were in constant growth throughout the first 150 years of the suburban life cycle.

This places the suburbs in a changing power relationship where the potential for self-determination varied over time and continually raised questions about the

extent to which the suburban forms and roles were self-selected, self-generated, administratively/politically enforced or controlled on the basis of market culture and/or economics – with due consideration for the chronology and composition of the factors. The power relations that were developed over the 200 years covered by the thesis are treated on the basis of the broad understanding of the concept where power is not only manifested hierarchically but in general relationally.

My historical research approach is naturally influenced by my point of departure in the worlds of archives and museums and by my local affiliation. With a professional and personal standpoint *in medias res*, it is natural for me to include as much as possible of the wide range of relevant sources offered by local collections in addition to the well-known central groups of sources.



'Parcellisten' was a local weekly, that owed its existence to the struggle between the migrants and the local population. It was free of party-interests but tried to use the numerous new associations created by the migrants as its base. The paper lasted only a few years and gave up shortly after 1930.

Forstadmuseet

In the local context, the archive and museum angle offers the potential for a solidly rooted microhistorical approach. With access to the museum's map and picture collections, which include topographical and technical maps, photos and topographical art, the place becomes visible, readable and present within the scale of the thesis. The population involved is given the opportunity to step forward as specific figures in the statistics as well as individuals in memoirs and interviews. Patterns of action can be traced and concretized.

The local collections, which have been developed over decades as a result of people donating objects at random as well as the building-up of systematically organized collections do not, of course, provide data for the writing of history on a 1:1 scale, but in some situations they come close to doing so.

The Forstadsmuseum's rich collections of material from associations and personal archives, together with the collections of the local press and periodicals, provide a broad, solid basis. The house-owners' associations, which were an important local agent of development, in particular in the inter-war era, are well represented in the collections thanks to a major nationwide collection at the end of the 1970s which also bore fruit in Hvidovre. The museum possesses house-owners' association archives, supplemented by later donations, which cover a very large part of the subdivisions of the period in Hvidovre.¹⁹

In the 1980s, I myself participated in organizing several major memoir collections from Hvidovre citizens about life in the municipality in the 1920s, 1930s and 1950s. Despite their fluctuating quality, the many interviews offer a very wide source basis in some areas. When the interviews are combined with pictorial material and other local sources, it is possible not only to establish a control narrative in addition to the prevailing suburban narrative, but also to illustrate the Copenhagen periphery as a complex, active and in certain phases influential party in the urbanization process.

A randomly received source in the form of a diary from the 1840s, 1850s and 1880s provides a unique case exemplifying one of the development directions in the periurban phase in both Frederiksberg and Hvidovre. It has been able to throw sidelights on the periurban processes described by other sources and the literature in general.

The major strength of local sources lies not just in their variety and quantity, but also in their relationship with the place. When the museum's collection for example includes not only a *sølvnakke* (silver-bonnet) from the period and from Hvidovre, but in fact the very *sølvnakke* worn by a named person, which can furthermore,

¹⁹ At present the collections in Forstadsmuseum contain 22 house-owners' archives. This figure should partly be seen in the light of the number of currently existing associations, which is 57 in the Hvidovre part of the current municipality of Hvidovre. Compared with the number of parcels, the collections cover a significantly higher proportion, as the largest associations such as Risbjerggårds Villaby and Grundejerforeningen Strandøre with a total of more than 1,000 parcels have donated their archives. At the same time, the heyday of the house-owners' associations in the first half of the 20th century is well covered, since it is predominantly the municipality's oldest house-owners' associations that have found their way to the museum.

through a report that has been handed down, shed light on the arrival of the modern in the rural community, then the interpretation and communication of local history enter a space where the good story cannot only thrive and be nourished by the investigative approach, but can create new knowledge about the efficacy of the process at the personal level. The association of the object or source with the place thus has a communicative relevance to the present population of the place.

The diversity and quantity of sources might constitute a temptation to engage in flawed source management in the presentation and the conclusions; but I hope it will be clear that this need not be the case. When the local sources are framed by the overall issues, confronted with external sources and literature and related to current interpretations of general trends – national and international – they should preferably be perceived not only as an enrichment of the larger story but as groundbreaking in their own right.

In suburban history it is obvious that without local sources the periphery of the city is almost invisible. The meeting between the many agents of the urbanization process and the object of urbanization – the sphere that is changed – becomes a one-dimensional process when the periphery is not also in focus.

In the older – somewhat scanty – Danish discussion of the function of local history in the history of the State, local history was first seen as redundant and was later regarded as perhaps providing the building blocks for national history. Local history might supplement but not set the agenda.²⁰

In the encounter with research, the extensive and diverse local collections can have an authority that goes far beyond the role intended for them in the history of local archives and the local history movement.

My approach to the issues under consideration is rooted in an in-principle multidisciplinary approach, understood as undogmatic consideration of the sources and methods that were at my disposal and appeared relevant to the formulation of the problem.

In working with a community that grew demographically from fewer than 400 to more than 15,000 people throughout the period, one of course modifies one's perspective along the way. Given that the number of properties grew

²⁰ From the 1940s until the mid-1970s there was a debate in the journal *Fortid og Nutid*, where attitudes to the role of local history and local historians were described and discussed. This illustrates the view taken by changing times and disciplines of the value of working with local history.

correspondingly from fewer than 100 to well over 5,000, the representativity of the individual property's development and history must correspondingly be weighted differentially.



The main register of the farm, Risbjerggård, immediately after the subdivision is illustrative of the multiplied complexity that urbanization causes. From being the place of residence for one family, it became home to hundreds. From being one production unit it was basically separated into housing and infrastructure while each housing unit in many cases also contained production facilities and the gardens produced necessary nutrition to the families.

Forstadmuseet, kortsamlingen, main register, Hvidovre 1919

I have used printed sources and Danish and international literature to illustrate urbanization, the history of the suburb, architecture, social conditions and culture, and have drawn on rich local and national source material. As well as basic statistical material such as censuses for the demographic investigations and valuation registers for property history, I have considered sources from the political/administrative bodies, from municipal councils to county councils, ministries and Parliament.

Since the history of the suburbs has not been the object of very much research, I have been keen to shed new light on well-known processes and actors in an effort to nuance the established image of the suburb in order to make it clear that a more in-depth approach is needed if I am to tell a more accurate story. However, the involvement of local sources has not turned the study into mere local history, inasmuch as the work only makes sense by virtue of the description of the surroundings to which it provides access.

The good stories with obvious illustrative value have been accorded their place – for example the stories of Valdemar Hagbard Brusch and the farming couple Bonavent – because without them one might lose the sense of lived life, which is the basis of having issues to work with at all.



Photo from farmer Niels Bonavent and his wife Maren in 1930 at Åstrupgård. They were among the few farming families with a long history in Hvidovre that sold their land in numerous small and large lots over decades starting by the end of the 19th century while they at the same time stayed as part of the local community.

Forstadmuseet B15124

5 THE SUBURBS – THEORY, TERMINOLOGY AND LITERATURE

*“There is no authoritative or orthodox definition of the ‘suburb’”.*²¹

This chapter introduces some of the theoretical approaches that have characterized the history of the suburb throughout the 20th century. In the confusing landscape of a century of intellectual work on a suburb that has been constantly developing, some approaches have had more impact than others, but none offers an authoritative definition of the field.

Changing terminologies concerning the suburb are interesting because they draw pictures of the physical, political and mental landscapes that were perceived. An image emerges of an area that has been observed from the outside for a long time.

Finally, the literature on Danish suburban history is discussed with a view to its starting point and its framework of understanding in relation to the suburbs.

The state of research on the history of the suburbs can hardly be expressed more simply than with J. S. Jauhiainen’s formulation from 2013 (quotation at the opening of the chapter), making the suburban historian’s life both simple and complex. On the one hand, general theories can easily be dismissed because they have difficulties in the encounter with the local historical reality. On the other hand, the need to place the history of the suburb in a theoretical framework is no less than it would be in any other field of research.

The disciplinary point of departure for suburban history and the work with the periphery of the traditional city has largely meant working with a sub-discipline of urban history. The individual suburb is not experienced as being as complex as the city: it does not have the temporal depth of the city, its social diversity is seldom like that of the city, and in general it does not in itself have attractions that appeal to others than those who already have a relationship with the individual suburb by virtue of their personal history.

²¹ Jauhiainen, J.S. “Suburbs”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 2013, p. 791.

One of the challenges in working with Danish suburban history is that it has been dominated by the research of the English-speaking world, especially of North America, and has inspired the prevailing dichotomy between city centre and periphery.²² The underlying tone of much research on the suburbs can be expressed in an easily comprehensible scale of values.

'The suburb is the everyday city while the historical city in many ways has become the Sunday city'.²³



The image of the archetypical illegal dweller/builder in Hvidovre between the wars is supported by numerous pictures showing not only drinking but also a general behaviour which was incompatible with the norms of the middle classes.

Forstads museet B14417

²² Clapson, M., Hutchison, R. *Suburbanization in Global Society*, Research in Urban Sociology, Vol. 10, 2010, p. 7

²³ Meyling, V. *Forstaden i nyt lys*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium 1999, p 6

The introductory quote about the absence of a simple, convincing definition of the suburb can be used as a point of entry to the review of the four 'schools' in suburban research identified by the geographers L. Vaughan, S. Griffiths, Mordechai Haklay and E. Jones in 2009, which provides a comprehensive picture of the development over time in the perception of the suburb.²⁴

- *The one-dimensional suburb*
- *Urbanization-suburbanization teleology*
- *Self-referential multiplicity*
- *Otherness*

The authors' identification of '*the specificity of suburban space and the complexity of its historical development*'²⁵ is fundamentally the point of departure for the view presented in this thesis of the individual suburb as a unique urban element.

With this starting point, what automatically follows is a challenge to the contrary assumption of generations of historians, other professionals and opinion-makers – that the 'suburb' is one-dimensional and characterized by general features.

My choice of the 'unique suburb' with the 'specific' history as a starting point and subject of the thesis is based on numerous observations made while working with the history of Hvidovre, which have pointed to an underlying complexity in relation to the set of 'adopted' notions of the suburb's simple and predictable nature.

The authors of the above-mentioned article conclude that

*'the significance of suburban theory lies in its potential to undermine one-dimensional approaches to the built environment by refocusing attention on the manifold social complexities that emerge from the differentiation of its spatial-temporal form'.*²⁶

The current need for a theory of the suburb is therefore not driven by a desire to identify general regularities, but the necessity of focusing on the complex images offered by the suburban variations over time and space.

²⁴ Vaughan, L., Griffiths, S., Haklay, M., Jones, E.: *Do the Suburbs Exist?* Royal Geographical Society 2009, p. 475-488

²⁵ Ibid p.

²⁶ Ibid p.

The emphasis on the need for suburban research on its own premises is convincingly argued in the review of the dominant schools on the basis of British and North American suburban research in particular. It is stated that the general premise of theories of urban history has been to regard the city as complex in contrast to the simplicity of the suburb, with the result that research on the suburb has encountered difficulties in the theoretical work on urban history.

The authors' claim that the temporal dimension is as important as the spatial dimension gives suburban research an opportunity to explore and develop suburban individuality in relation to the seeming regularities of suburban history, and opens the way for the increasingly widespread understanding that

*'The diversity of suburbs is certainly not lesser than the one characterizing central cities.'*²⁷

The article identifies four implicit perceptions of the suburbs that have barred the way to a more complete conception of the space filled by the suburbs, and these four views form the link between the article and the prevalent theory.

THE ONE-DIMENTIONAL SUBURB

This category involves a widespread view focusing on the 'suburb' as a single geographical concept. It is a tradition that has described 'the suburb' on the basis of a range of planning, socio-economic or cultural criteria. There has been a tradition in the research of using definitions of the suburb that view the suburb from a functional angle without regard to their weak theoretical value. The tradition has thus not challenged the common perception of the 'suburb' as one-dimensional.

The article exemplified this with a definition from 1961

*'A suburb is a decentralized part of a city with which it is inseparably linked by certain economic and social ties.'*²⁸

This definition is part of the current of assumptions – including later implicit ones – made by researchers about the mainly residential and thus unified character of the suburbs.

The predominant trend in research on the history and geography of the suburb is to avoid creating a basic definition of 'suburb'. But here the authors are arguing that

²⁷ Hamel, P., *Governance and Global Suburbanisms*, in Keil, R. (ed.), *Suburban Constellations*, Jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p. 30

²⁸ Dyos, H. J. *Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell*, Leicester 1977/61



The suburbanization demonstrates a wide range of shapes and functions where the connection to the neighboring urban structure is unclear or mixed up with activities connected with the rural past.

The unskilled laborer Mr. Paaske twice built a house for himself plus a small shop for his wife while he lived off construction-work in the city alternating with a mix of locally based small businesses made possible by the ownership of a horse and a cart. All while living in the one-family-house area, Risbjerggårds Villaby. 1926.

Forstads museet B11364

rejection of a basic definition does not minimize the need for the formation of theory about what the suburbs are.

The highlighting by more recent research of suburban diversity over time and space, and the studies in the development of the suburbs' social and housing structures have together demonstrated the difficulty of creating convincing theories, and have inspired the perception of the 'suburb' as a mental space unconnected with the local physical context. This has taken place particularly under the influence of the later, globalized suburb, which makes it difficult to connect the suburbs with a particular physical environment. R. Silverstone drew the logical consequence of the dematerialization of the physical dimension of the suburbs when he stated that

*'suburbia is a state of mind'.*²⁹

All in all, the development in recent decades has moved from a focus on one-dimensional approaches to multi-dimensional ones, and the article concludes that

*'to conceive of suburbs as multi-dimensional is to recognize their complexity as social spaces beyond the reductive categories so frequently applied to them, whether in terms of socio-economic processes or exclusive cultural affiliation'.*³⁰

URBANIZATION-SUBURBANIZATION TELELOGY

The idea of a predetermined mechanical relationship between city and suburb, centre and periphery is an obvious consequence of the origin of the suburbs as a function of the city. Intrinsic in this is the notion that the city will ultimately swallow the suburb. This is fundamentally an angle that takes its point of departure in the city and deprives the suburb of its freedom of action.

*'The narrative of suburban rise and fall endorses representations of the suburb as essentially indistinguishable from the history of the city.'*³¹

The article refers to the Anglo-American research tradition focusing on the life cycle of the suburb, which is seemingly doomed to be a victim of the city and its unpleasant sides in the form of industrial and cultural phenomena such as crime and accompanying social decline. This angle is based on a perception of the suburb where the residential function is completely central.

²⁹ Silverstone, R. *Visions of Suburbia*, Routledge, London 1997

³⁰ Vaughan, L. et al., p. 480

³¹ Vaughan, L. et al., p. 481

This is where the reality of the Danish suburb – and consequently Danish suburban history – differs, because a similar Danish tradition of unambiguously residential suburbs is less frequent, perhaps because the big Copenhagen suburbs, in both the earliest phase (Frederiksberg and Lyngby) and in the planning-controlled suburban growth in the post-war period, included both housing and businesses. Naturally, Danish suburban history has examples of more or less successful initiatives that were meant to protect newcomers against inappropriate neighbours (e.g. Gentofte and Søllerød) and poverty (e.g. Frederiksberg), but the angle does not really fit Danish conditions.

The Chicago School's urbanization model represents the teleological approach to the direction of development in the suburbs. Later models for urban relations, such as Walther Christaller's theory of 'central places' were based on similar ideas about function-based predictability in urbanization processes.³² Attempts were made in the Copenhagen area to practice this mechanical approach in urban planning in the 1970s at a level of detail where it was thought possible, for example, to operate with planning and differentiation of the key functions of the suburb at four levels.³³

It is difficult for hierarchically based models of understanding of the suburb to handle the complex urban structures that have several centres and large geographical distances. In the United States, these kinds of urban structures are supported by the special automotive culture that is marginal to Danish suburb formation. The combination of a high planning level and, in an international context, a strong public transport network has created a different expression. However, the complexity seems no less.

The large urbanized structures created after the war have called for new terms, and the article points to the word *Zwischenstadt*³⁴ as a generic term for built-up landscapes between town and country. The term relates to the negative connotations of the concept of suburb in relation to the historical city, thereby overlooking the positive meanings the concept has had and still has in many contexts.

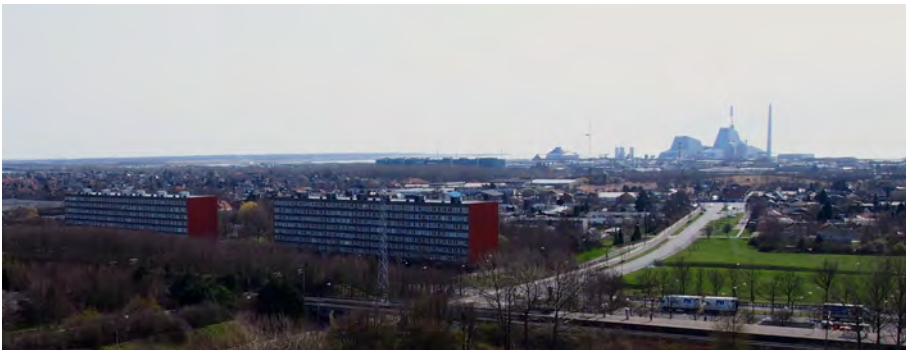
³² Nielsen, B. *Udfordringer for de mellemstore danske bysamfund*. www.byplanlab.dk

³³ *Meddelelser fra egnsplanrådet*, no. 8, 1969, p. 12. In the new planned Køge Bugt suburbs, the planners operated with: neighbourhood centre, town unit centres, town group centre and sector centre.

³⁴ Sieverts, Th. *Zwischenstadt*, 1997

SELF-REFERENTIAL MULTIPLICITY

Under the term ‘self-referential multiplicity’, the article identifies several approaches to the suburb, all of which are characterized by their response to the suburb as the site of specific socio-cultural phenomena, such as the ‘feminine domain’. This approach is problematic in relation to the physicality of the suburb, which involves countless other meanings. The many cultural meanings that are individually read into the suburbs together in this way give the image of a complexity that has been interpreted as a theoretical platform. However, this is an expression of confusion between the real complexity of the suburb and the multidisciplinary approaches of suburban research.



Even in the planned suburban landscapes west of Copenhagen it may be difficult to comprehend the structural logics. The combination of aesthetic challenges and lack of urban references makes it easy to refer to the landscape as a place defined by the neighboring structures: town and country. View from Avedøre towards south.

Poul Sverrild 2014

When the suburb is staged in relation to this type of cultural phenomenon, it easily becomes a frame for underlying normative ideas, and the authors identify three views that are characteristic of this type of literature.

‘The dystopian suburb’ is cultivated by writers who have pointed to everything from the physical and social monotony of the suburb to its destructive influence on civil responsibility, the worship of consumerism and the dissolution of existing social structures. The negative approaches vary across time and space in accordance with the local social development. Thus, a British tradition focused on the monotony, while the post-war American perception of the suburb was consumerism-focused and, in addition, regarded the spread of suburbs in the period after the war as harmful to social life.

The authors point out that the challenge of the dystopian approach lies more in its tendency to relate not so much to the suburban reality as to its role as a symbol of the fatalities in both the urban and the rural sphere.

‘The realist suburb’ refers to the approach to the post-war suburb developed by American researchers, where the modern suburb represented a natural social development in the direction of mobility more than a longing for a rural past. This perception of the suburb was also based on English conditions.

The article attributes much of the credit for the acceptance of the suburbs as a field of research. However it simultaneously accuses the school of a tendency to consider suburban development as a ‘natural’ urbanization phase, thus awarding this school’s suburban development a positive frame of understanding where the inhabitants, through their choice of the suburb, are entitled to have the suburbs perceived as an independent form of settlement.

On the other hand, the article contends that not all suburban residents have chosen their habitat themselves, and cites English examples stemming from classic industrialism. Similarly, one could cite the clearance of many inner-city residents in Danish suburban history; from the 1950s to the 1970s they were forced to adopt the suburb as a life framework in the form of blocks of social-housing flats. This group of newcomers is in stark contrast to the older Danish generation of suburban residents, who chose the suburbs for themselves.

The great strength of the realistic school is mainly that it has allowed space for regarding the suburb/suburban resident as an independent agent. Simultaneously, however, this view easily overshadows the realization that not all suburban citizens are part of the suburban history that is about ‘the good life in the suburbs’.

‘The idealist suburb’ is the last sub-school identified in the article. Its roots are in Ebenezer Howard’s idealistic garden-city concept, which aimed at urban city/country structures where the best of both worlds could be combined while the worst of both worlds was avoided. Social qualities were attributed to the garden city by virtue of its low density and in varying forms it came to influence urbanization over large parts of the world.³⁵

The opposite of the classic ideal approach to the suburbs, according to the article, is the corresponding ideal approach where it is precisely the lower density and social attractiveness of the suburb that have meant that negative values are now attributed

³⁵ Cf. chapter 11, “Garden City – Garden Suburb”

to it in terms of environmental impact and social sustainability. It is not least in American literature that supporters of 'New Urbanism' are representatives of this view.

The ideal approaches to the suburbs have created powerful images of suburban life, both positive and negative, and share a starting point in the perception of spatial planning as an essential factor in the development.

OTHERNESS

The outside-in angle is the article's last category of approaches to the suburb, where the suburb is regarded as lacking qualities in relation to the city. The suburb is figuratively the place where the city's refuse sloshes around. In this angle, the suburbs are 'non-places' without any characteristics other than their infrastructural accessibility.

The from-the-outside approach has been present from the beginning, and the ever-growing interest in new suburban forms has created a series of new words to describe the phenomena. Having presented a whole series of recent terms, from 'outtowns' to 'boomburbs', the article concludes that they are due to an absence of research on the world of the suburb.

What is problematic in this approach's continual interest in the latest physical and social manifestations is that they must of necessity be based on the view that the sphere of the suburb does not invite any long-term presence.

The quite extensive literature on the suburb that underlies the article causes the authors to observe that the suburb as a scholarly object is still weak and that it is difficult for the individual researcher to gain an overview.

The main conclusion is that until the suburb is defined as an independent societal structure, it will not be robust enough to accommodate all the images of it that are created. It is necessary to form theories that are not based on the perception of the suburb as "formless, timeless and other" – the words could just as well be "dynamic, persistent and familiar".

The article's review and categorization, mainly of the British and American literature of the suburbs, paints a picture of the suburb as an object to which the surrounding world has related on a serially one-dimensional basis. The role of the suburb as a solver and creator of problems in the urbanization processes has led to

normative approaches that in many ways overshadow the history and function of the individual suburbs.

It appears that the time dimension in particular has been difficult to fit into the research. The constant focus on variability in the most recent manifestations of the suburb also overshadows suburban history. The old suburbs do not disappear when new forms appear, but they do not become city – and absolutely not countryside. They remain suburbs.³⁶

The review of changing approaches to the suburb that has generations behind it emphasizes first and foremost that contemporary interpretations tend more towards the formation of schools and time-bound angles than to any relation to the suburban world that is constantly growing in complexity.

My use of the article, in addition to being an entry point to a large amount of basic literature on the history of the suburb, has been that it advocates and justifies the use of the suburb as my starting point, and that its relationship to the city and the countryside is neither subordinate, equal or superior, but has its own value and importance in terms of the individual relationship in time and space.

With the suburb as the planet's dominant form of settlement, it is a lot to ask for that one should operate with definitions and approaches that are adequate to suburban formation over both time and space. But with a less ambitious starting point in the definitions and theory the field of study remains open and the potential for meaningful explanations of suburban phenomena is huge.

‘... a simple definition of suburbanization as the combination of an increase in non-central city population and economic activity, as well as urban spatial expansion.’³⁷

The weakness of working with such a simple definition is obvious: it leaves enshrined and more well-defined urban history as a minor niche surrounded by an all-inclusive suburban history that includes everything outside the ‘classic’ city. Its strength is that it facilitates working with the suburbs in the broadest sense and designates the suburbs as the urban form where growth takes place and thus as places with which it is legitimate to work.

³⁶ See chapter 6, *Functions and phases in Danish suburban history*

³⁷ Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p. 9

It is thus obvious that the suburb must not only be a subject of interest for the widest range of disciplines, but also for interdisciplinary approaches, if its development is to be explained over a global space and indefinite timescale.

The present thesis seeks to avoid a point of departure in stereotypes of the suburb. The stereotypes mentioned and the dominance of the from-the-outside view of the suburb are among the motivating forces behind my studies. However, it has been essential for me not only to replace the centre-periphery angle with a periphery-centre angle or to replace the well known stereotypes with counter-images, but simply to test the picture that appears when the suburban area has the same visibility in the urbanization process as the city has had.



The suburbs as a global phenomenon and now a historical structure challenge the efforts to bring forward simple definitions. Time, space and not least changing academic approaches seem to produce endless theoretical explanations that fit the subject in case but clashes with other supposedly similar subjects. To deliver definitions covering the 'suburb' will either be meaningless in their broadness or have limited meaning in their specificity. Outskirts of Mexico City.

Poul Sverrild 2010

'Periurban' – TIME AND SPACE BEFORE THE SUBURBS, OR ...

Selecting the chronological point of departure has always presented a challenge in the practical work of researching the history of the suburb. When did the

development begin that culminated in the establishment of a structure that can be described as suburban?

Was it when commercial or population development in the periurban rural area reached a certain level of urban affiliation, or when land use changed in an urban direction? And if so, how radical should the change be or how high the level?

When one works with the more recent standard local sources such as censuses and – for the time after 1900 – public property valuations, changes in rural communities only appear when they have occurred in measurable terms; but simultaneously they reveal that something must have gone before. That something may have been processes of change of almost any kind. However, some of the prior processes of change seem more relevant than others for the subsequent direction of development. There may be changes that later disappear without leaving functional traces, and there are others that do not seem like much but have had severe consequences for subsequent developments.

The use of the concept of ‘periurban’ means that a framework is established that can handle the processes, actions and consequences that preceded suburban formation in a given suburban area and which prove capable of explaining later events and results.

The use of the term ‘periurban’ in the context of suburban history is relatively new. However, it has been used especially in the context of geographical and sociological approaches to present-day and more recent developments in and of landscapes around urban structures.

‘Periurban’ can refer to both time and space. The periurban phase is the time during which an area undergoes development from an original (rural) condition to a (sub)urban one. The periurban sphere or zone is the corresponding geographical space where development takes place. As these are dynamic terms, ‘periurban’ signals phenomena of a fleeting nature, both geographically and temporally. The Canadian geographer and historian Richard Harris stated about the periurban space:

‘Suburban land does not just lie between the country and the city, but in the long view each parcel and tract itself undergoes that transition, begging us to view it historically. Guiding that evolution, almost everywhere, is a land market. Not the market, because markets vary greatly in character, never corresponding to an ideal. But a market nonetheless, with private land tenure, negotiated prices, and government regulation. In these terms suburban land is converted from rural to urban, allocated to users, and in time redeveloped. The operations are

*rarely visible, sales billboards being an exception, but it is restless markets that make and remake the suburbs.*³⁸

He also observed that with continued periurban growth, the suburbs become located in a cycle of aging under the pressure of rising land prices and the degeneration of existing buildings. The expectations of basic, mechanically predictable concentric development patterns, where the oldest suburbs are transformed into city, involve a reference to the dogmas of the Chicago School about a corresponding mechanical division of the urban space.³⁹

Under Danish conditions, at the same time as the Chicago school in the USA was developing its ideas, there could have been identical notions of a development automaton that converted suburbs into city. Such conversion had taken place in the Copenhagen ‘-bro’ areas after a few decades of suburban identity; but, as described elsewhere, this has not occurred with more recent suburbs and suburb types around Copenhagen. In the case of Copenhagen, development as in the American model does not seem to have been prevented only by the often-tight restrictions on physical planning in Denmark, but also by tacit cultural norms in relation to urban structures.



Prior to the arrival of the first newcomers to any future suburban area speculators, financiers, landowners and/or cultural factors had defined the character of the area.

Forstads museet B 5921

Richard Harris's view of the

³⁸ Harris, R., *How Land Markets Make and Change Suburbs*, in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, Jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, pp. 33-37.

³⁹ In *The City* in 1925, against the background of sociological research projects, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess presented a model where the city was expected to develop in a system of concentric rings.

periurban as a factor in a dynamic opens up a time-independent understanding of the mechanisms associated with the city's geographical growth. This view of the concept is not consistent, for example, with the French use of the term,⁴⁰ which since the mid-1990s has been part of the official nomenclature in geography, economics and sociology (SEGESA) as a description of specific areas of the geographical and social landscape where the population exhibits certain commuting behaviour. The French use of the term operates with fixed statistical units, which make demands on the population structure in the periurban zones, since at least 40% of the population must work outside the district.

This use of the term is quite reminiscent of the way in which Danish statistics previously used the concept of the suburb. It stresses the need of the administrative apparatuses to categorize the existing rather than relate to the processes.

The zone around the city, the outskirts of the city, where the process of change is ongoing over time, the periurban zone, has its own character and its own rules that differ from those of the city, the countryside and the suburb. There are unique opportunities for change here, both in terms of economic returns and practical applications. The potential of the process is of course subject to restrictions in relation to differences in geography, legislation, economics, technology, culture etc.

Richard Harris operates with a simplified model for the transition from countryside to city in three stages:

'The periurban, the suburban, and the ambiguously urban.'

He sees the periurban phase as the most central in a development perspective.

*'Physically, it contains a wide range of land uses as is imaginable, and in no apparent order. Socially, it is diverse and disconnected... Nowhere are the stakes over land use higher.'*⁴¹

The special development potential of the zone could also be observed in the earliest suburban formations in the -bro areas around Copenhagen, as evidenced by one of the earliest Danish historical suburb studies, although the concept had not been

⁴⁰ The description of French practice is based on Lambert, A., *The (mis)measurement of periurbanization* <http://www.metropolitiques.eu/The-mis-measurement-of.html>

⁴¹ Harris, R., *How Land Markets Make and Change Suburbs*, in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p. 34.

defined at the time.⁴² The periurban and often invisible (sub)urbanization process, which has also been termed “hidden urbanization”,⁴³ may hold one of the keys to understanding the individual suburban unit’s later direction of development and location in the urban social and functional geography.

In the following, I make use of the term ‘periurban’ in accordance with Richard Harris’s dynamic development model, which develops countryside to city in three steps, but which is most often shortened by one step in a development from countryside to suburb in the Danish context, as the conversion to city would seem to follow other patterns than in North America.

The almost constant quest of recent decades to create ‘urban qualities’ and ‘urban life’ in a number of very different Copenhagen suburbs⁴⁴ demonstrates very clearly that an automatic conversion to ‘city’ over time does not happen automatically – if it happens at all.

THE DANISH SUBURBS – THE TERM

Over time, the approach to the suburbs has moved in harmony with the changing conceptions and needs of society and in relation to the growing importance of the suburb. It shifted quickly from the earliest simple and general definitions of ‘the suburb’ based on etymology and topographical logic, as is obvious in fortified cities, for example.

*‘The city within the ramparts, and the suburbs outside the ramparts...’*⁴⁵

There have apparently always existed settlements called *forstæder* – suburbs – around Copenhagen and other cities. These settlements had a functional affiliation

⁴² Hansen, J.E.F. *Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850-erne*, Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen 1977, pp. 88-92. Appendix 2 is a review of the subdivision history of two properties in Nørrebro, which shows hectic subdivision activity in the phase when suburban formation was still at the stage where it was barely a physical phenomenon. Even on the basis of very little material, the range of variation in the forms of subdivision and use during this phase is implied, and it can be seen from both examples that a speculative phase preceded the phase immediately prior to suburb formation.

⁴³ Zasada, I., Fertner, C., Piore, A., Nielsen, T. “Periurbanization and functional adaptation of agriculture around Copenhagen”, in *Danish Journal of Geography* 111(1) p. 60.

⁴⁴ The municipality of Greve and the foundation Realdania are working on a project, ‘Greve Midtby’ (Downtown Greve), which relates to “desirable urban development”. Similarly, the municipality of Hvidovre is presently working to develop ‘Hvidovre Bymidte’ (Downtown Hvidovre).

⁴⁵ Trap, J.P., *Statistisk-topographisk Beskrivelse af Kongeriget Danmark*, 1. vol., 1858, p. 7

to the city but a status consistent with the fact that they were not a part of the city and its protection and licensing systems.

As the suburbs became larger and more complex with the industrial development of the city, there was a need for more technical definitions that could define suburban housing, structure and population in relation to the city and the countryside. This was not least for statistical purposes and the subsequent possibility of planning the future development of society.

Finally, from the 1920s, the 'suburb' became the subject of scholarship-based theories which wanted to explain the impact of the new and innovative urban structure on society, the city and the culture and relationships of the citizens .

Since the birth of 'the modern suburb' at the intersection of accelerating urbanization generated by industrialization and culturally defined dreams of an urban life in the countryside, it has involved dualities such as desire and need, duress and voluntariness, the good life and social hardship, aesthetic resources and expressive poverty, avant-garde and reaction.

The complexity has been continuously mirrored in the literary interpretations and changing research approaches of the times, which have tried to deal with the combination of new urban physicalities and social reality, and the impressions that the physical environment and the social structure were expected to make on 'suburban' residents.

The emergence of the subject – 'the modern suburb' – is linked to the industrialization of the production apparatus, which initially gave rise to new growth in Western European cities, with the earliest imprint in Great Britain. The emergence of a large new social class of workers with looser ties to their employers than had been known in the earlier craft-based form of production, put new pressures on the city and forced communities to focus on housing conditions as part of the public sphere. A continuous urbanization process was set in motion, and it continues unabated more than 200 years later.

In general, the city's growth took the form of increased density with the help of increased building heights. In many places the physical form of growth was a natural consequence of the fortification of the cities, or of urban sprawl being slowed down by administrative measures. A third factor with a limiting effect was traffic conditions, which restricted mobility.

The concentration of population in cities continued to rise up to the middle of the 1800s, after which the movement towards and beyond the outskirts of cities gathered pace.⁴⁶ The suburban landscapes of the modern cities were the result.

Although Denmark with its capital Copenhagen was industrialized late in comparison with Great Britain, Germany and Central Europe, the international chronology fits amazingly well here. Danish housing history's acclaimed project on Copenhagen's Øster Fælled, which in the literature marks the start not only of suburban history but also of the housing dimension of welfare history – which in turn is largely suburban history – was the first major comprehensive suburban housing project in Copenhagen from 1854.

With its references in design to the workers' wings in the Danish non-urban industrial buildings of older times, such as the plants at Brede and the Navy's residential area Nyboder, which was built in the first half of the 1600s with King Christian IV's expansion of the city of New Copenhagen, this first suburban housing had roots both in the factory community of the earliest period of industrialism and in the history of urban settlements.

In the long international history of 'the modern suburb', it has constantly been evolving and changing and has delivered solutions in an era characterized not least by the international trends that were propagated through the industrialized world during the 20th century. In recent perceptions of the suburbs, the current urban perspectives have often tended to dominate the field in relation to the perspectives where the intrinsic history of the suburbs was one of the preconditions for current conditions.

Generally, in the topographical literature that appeared in Denmark during the 19th century, little attention was paid to the suburbs, and they received only brief mention in the descriptions. Interest in development on the edge of the city was concentrated on country- house culture, industrial plants and changes in the traditional agrarian sector. A good example of the topographical treatment of the suburbs of Copenhagen can be read in Frederick Thaarup's description from 1826 :

'The suburbs begin at the end of the fortifications and extend about 1/4 [of a Danish] mile towards the royal summer residence Frederiksberg Palace. Vesterbro belongs under the municipal of Frederiksberg in church matters and in civil matters under Copenhagen. Nørrebro and Østerbro, or the northern and eastern suburb, as well as Amagerbro or

⁴⁶ Hohenberg, P.M., Lees, L.H., *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994*, Harvard 1995, p. 303

*the small suburb outside Amagerport, are less important. The suburbs really only have broad streets through which run the main roads, and some small streets that run across. Houses in the suburbs are usually without cellars and have only one or two floors, as decrees relating to the defence of the city do not permit taller buildings. Not all the houses are close together; one can also find those with a spacious yard and good gardens. Some buildings in the suburb have traces of architectural taste. ... To the suburbs of the city belongs the whole circumference of the freshwater lakes which are outside the city, surrounded by gardens, houses and entertainment and factory locations. A row of buildings between Nørrebro and Østerbro are called Blegdamsvejen.*⁴⁷

The Copenhagen suburbs were still included in the description of the suburbs at this stage, in line with Frederiksberg, which, unlike the later *-bro* areas, did not belong to the city of Copenhagen. So, the linking of the suburb concept with the administrative unit in the form of the city and its lands that was introduced later was not yet established here. However, the use of the term *forstad* in this example indicates that the author was still writing on the basis of the pre-industrial view of the suburban phenomenon – although already here the suburbs were regarded as the site of ‘factory locations’.

The emphasis on certain architectural qualities of individual houses was based on experience with the suburbs of earlier times, which were inhabited by socially disadvantaged persons and had a temporary nature due to the military’s requirement concerning the possibility of evacuating them in the event of war. The complaint about the lack of architectural quality in the suburbs continued in relation to the modern suburbs.

The description of the physical reality, where the suburb’s emerging functions were mixed, refers to the early suburb, while its location relative to main roads points forward to suburban development in the second half of the century.

On the basis of the original, semantically rooted view of the suburb, it has been very easy for urban history to relate to the phenomenon. It is a densely built and inhabited urban structure in front of or outside the city, understood as a more or less urban area, geographically placed on the edge of or farther outside an existing city,

⁴⁷ Thaarup, F. *Kjøbenhavn og Omegn – beskrevet især med Hensyn til Reisende*, 1826 p 21-22. Other topographical works were Gliemann, T. *Geographisk-statistisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavns Amt*, 1821; Sterm, S. *Statistisk-topografisk Beskrivelse over Kjøbenhavns Amt*, 1834; and Trap, J.P. *Statistisk-Topografisk Beskrivelse af Kongeriget Danmark*, Copenhagen 1858-60

and which is included in and/or has come into being in a relationship of dependence on an original urban core.

This was also how the suburbs manifested themselves in contemporary statistics when they appeared in the early 20th century. In 1906 *Statistics Denmark* used the concept 'suburb' for the first time in an attempt to relate to the settlement and population situation in Gentofte, north of Copenhagen, which was termed "*a kind of suburb*". The concept of 'the suburb' was conceptually determined in the 1911 census a few years later.

'Many of the urban settlements in rural municipalities are to be considered as suburbs of market towns with which they are partly joined'.

This is how *Statistics Denmark* tried to solve the problems associated with the complexity of registration arising from the fact that some urban development areas were inside the city's administrative boundaries, while others were in neighbouring municipalities. The treatment of Gentofte and Frederiksberg underlined the problem.

For *Statistics Denmark* simultaneously operated with the concept of "*capital city with suburbs*", which included both Gentofte and Frederiksberg. This made it implicitly clear that 'suburbs' must necessarily lie outside the central borough. Physically and functionally, it was hard to tell the difference between the Copenhagen -bro areas and Frederiksberg, but only Frederiksberg was accorded the status of suburb.

This stressed that at the time the 'suburb' basically stood out by virtue of one thing only: it lay outside the city. Similarly, it distinguished itself from the countryside by not being countryside! But 'suburb' was in no way defined as an independent physical/functional phenomenon.

The statisticians' interest in the suburbs originated in the problems of defining and describing the growth of the city, and the biggest obstacle here was administrative boundaries. It was also the municipal boundaries which, in the real world of the city, constituted the challenge in relation to the growth of urbanization – not least for tax purposes.

In 1921, as a result of the nation-wide housing shortage and the homelessness that was a feature of the towns in particular, *Statistics Denmark* concluded that there was a need

‘...for city and suburban settlements to be considered as one, but in addition that this is the only way that it is possible from census to census to illustrate the growth of urban communities. If the administrative division alone is taken into account, the growth of the cities will take place in leaps as suburban settlements are incorporated into the city from time to time. It is often quite large numbers of people who thus, statistically and administratively, become urban population instead of rural population.’⁴⁸

An understanding was thus established that the technical division of town and country would not be sustainable as a way of clarifying the process of urbanization. The suburbs were experienced in statistical terms as a problem of the approach that the system had established, the political/administrative, and in this context the suburbs were perceived as an object which, as part of necessary, almost mechanical development, was moving towards the town. To the statistician, it was merely a matter of time before the ‘suburb’ became part of the city – through a merger that could in general best be handled through the transformation of the city’s administrative boundaries and the incorporation of the suburbs in the city.

When it was so hard for the suburbs to become visible in the statistics, it is not surprising that they also had difficulty becoming part of traditional urban history. The classic view, in which the centre and periphery relate to each other in a simple causality where influence and development move from the inside out, was dominant in Danish urban history until the last few decades.

A good example of the non-existent role of the suburbs in the classic approach to urban history is to be found in the authoritative Copenhagen metropolitan history from 1948. The ring of inner suburbs was either not mentioned at all, despite the almost 700 pages at the work’s disposal, or with very few references. Rødovre, Tårnby and Herlev received no mention whatever. Gladsaxe was mentioned once in connection with the municipality’s possible incorporation in Copenhagen in the inter-war period. Gentofte was included with two mentions of the construction of villas and the never-completed incorporation of ‘the tax haven’ of Gentofte in Copenhagen, respectively. Hvidovre was mentioned three times in connection with a caption for a photo of Mayor Borup and the major incorporations, the law “that separated Frederiksberg from Hvidovre” and the medieval establishment of the sovereignty of the Church of Our Lady, i.e. Copenhagen Cathedral, over, *inter alia*,

⁴⁸ The quotes in this section are taken from Statistics Denmark, *Statistiske Meddelelser*, various years

Hvidovre Church. There was not a word about the century-old development of the city's periphery.⁴⁹

The classic view of the relationship between centre and periphery is also to be found in the most recent major work about Copenhagen, published in six volumes in the 1980s.⁵⁰

The starting point of this work is the perception of the city as both subject and agent of development. What lies outside the ramparts has only meaning by virtue of its concrete impact on matters in and concerning the city. For example, suburban housing outside the city gates in the second half of the 1600s is referred to, but its existence is only mentioned because it was an eyesore to the city authorities and not because it had any autonomous role.⁵¹

The Copenhagen environs are not mentioned in the phase when the area was the subject of the Copenhagen real estate investments that would later come to define their urban development potential. The third volume of the work covers 1728-1830, and none of the villages of Avedøre, Hvidovre, Rødovre, Valby, Vigerslev or Brøndby appear, despite the fact that quite massive land acquisitions took place there. But the work mentions land purchase by Copenhageners:

*'Like many other affluent Copenhageners, the Henrichsens had a farm where they spent the summer.'*⁵²

The farm in question was by the sea at the Great Belt (well over 100 km away from Copenhagen), and the purpose of mentioning it was not to elucidate any economic and developmental impact of the rampant land investments, either for the city or the urbanization process, but to describe the cultural conditions of the city.

A very good example of the existence of blind spots in the point of view that was employed is the way Copenhagen's most recent fortifications from the 1880s and 1890s are treated. As the fortifications did not physically affect the Municipality of Copenhagen in the establishment phase, the work did not deal, in the volume that chronologically covered the construction period (volume 4, 1830-1900), with the enormous construction works where a great number of Copenhagen's workers were

⁴⁹ Jørgensen, H. (ed.) *København fra boplads til storby*, 1948 (677 pp.)

⁵⁰ Bech, S. C., Kjersgaard, E., Danielsen, J. (eds.) *Københavns historie*, vol. 1-6, 1980-83

⁵¹ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 26

⁵² Ibid, vol. 3, p. 113

employed, despite the fact that the fortifications were only constructed for the sake of Copenhagen as the nation's capital.

It was only when the fortifications were manned during the First World War, when parts of the fortifications – after the Copenhagen incorporations in 1901 – were in Copenhagen territory, that the complex figures as part of Copenhagen history.⁵³

And it is only in the last volume of the work, about the period after 1945, that the urban structure of Greater Copenhagen is to be found as a common urban object linked with the development of the planned society in the post-war period. This was an angle that might reasonably have been expected in the treatment of the process concerning the large-scale Copenhagen incorporations around 1900, but this is not the case. Nor are ideas about Copenhagen's future placed in a larger urban historical perspective, and the incorporations were treated as rational processes in which, for example, it is stated that Valby was considered a more affluent area to incorporate than Brønshøj.⁵⁴

In this version of history it does not even seem to have been determined whether the suburb is stereotyped or alien – it is fundamentally absent. It is telling that at the beginning of the post-war period the work finds that the municipality of Copenhagen is equal to “the city” and at the same time that the “capital city”, according to *Statistics Denmark* is equal to the municipalities of Copenhagen, Frederiksberg and Gentofte.⁵⁵ The suburb was not a subject to which the history of Copenhagen could or would relate.

We are far from the international perceptions of the suburbs as classifiable and programmatic,⁵⁶ and which ascribe special physical and social character traits and qualities to them.

A LITTLE DANISH SUBURBAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

From the middle of the 19th century, industrialization in Denmark created two quite new urban forms: the station town and the suburb. They are both of lasting importance in and for Danish society, but came to influence development on completely different scales and time horizons.

⁵³ Ibid, vol 5, pp. 148-151

⁵⁴ Ibid, vol 4, p. 277

⁵⁵ Ibid, vol 6, p. 58

⁵⁶ Cf. The introduction to chapter 6, Functions and phases in Danish suburban history

In the 1970s, the station town began to be regarded as so historically rooted and definable – and probably also as ‘dying’ – that it became the subject of a broad research undertaking organized by the Research Council for the Humanities’, the ‘Station Town Project’, which resulted in a number of studies, theses, monographs and articles. In addition to generating knowledge, the venture may have had the side effect that a number of the characteristics of the station town began to be appreciated. For example, it was only in the time after that that the previously much-criticized mixed-style ‘station town architecture’ was acknowledged as a stylistic feature that required special conservation efforts and today is emphasized as worthy of preservation on a par with the architectural forms of the classic city.⁵⁷

Academic interest in the station town as a historical phenomenon subsided quickly after the project, and work on the station town was relegated to classic local history. It seems obvious that the brief interest was linked to the fact that the station town now no longer appeared as an independent part of the current social agenda. With the rail network’s gradual contraction from the beginning of the 1930s, many station towns eventually became part of the general fringe issues that have predominated professionally and politically in the decades since. The station town became part of history in every way when the stations disappeared, and with the simultaneous shift towards growth in suburban formation, the period of the station town – as the prototype of a new time – was brief.

A number of station towns stand out developmentally by undergoing suburban development after a life as a station town and by today having hybrid urban forms. Around Copenhagen, this applies to Lyngby, Glostrup, Tåstrup and Ballerup, for example.

Valby is different in this context. First, it had one of the first stations in the country; secondly, it did not manage to develop actual station town characteristics; thirdly, it developed a suburban character unrelated to station town development; and fourthly, it partially became a city in connection with incorporation in the municipality of Copenhagen.

However, there are aspects that connect the century’s two new urban forms.

‘Despite today’s architectural endeavours in and around large cities, it is probably still the station towns that have remained standing as symbols of the low point in Danish building culture.’

⁵⁷ Danish Cultural Heritage Agency: *SAVE*, 2011

The historian Niels Peter Stilling could still write this in 1987 in his work on the first 100 years of the station towns. Similarly, he noted that the station town did not form part of the historian's field of interest.

*'One has to go beyond the ranks of historians to geographers such as Aage Aagesen and Viggo Hansen to find discussions of station towns on a historical basis that are of more than local interest'*⁵⁸

The same two statements – slightly moderated – could be made about the estimation and place of the suburbs in written history. The moderation is based on the differing social structure of the suburbs, which is at the core of suburban history and forms a common thread in this thesis.

Frederiksberg, like Valby, has a special position in relation to both urban and suburban history. The history of the place includes stages of development in the classic sense – stages⁵⁹ – which cover a full development from countryside to city: from village society over royal residential area and country house/manufacturing locality to suburban function and subsequent urbanization.

Frederiksberg's identity as a city rather than a suburb is very marked. The position is currently strongly present in the literature,⁶⁰ and it is a consistent line in the local historical literature that was already hinted at in the historical works about Frederiksberg which began to appear in the second half of the 19th century. For example, in 1866 W. Henriques wrote about Frederiksberg

*'... this municipal, probably unique of its kind in this country, a rural municipal that now has as many inhabitants as our biggest market towns, a negligible spot 30 years ago and now a municipality that many Copenhageners rightly or wrongly regard with great envy.'*⁶¹

With a similar need for comparison with the most prominent towns, the consequences of the Trade Act of 1866 were thus described in the first collected history of Frederiksberg from 1888: Frederiksberg

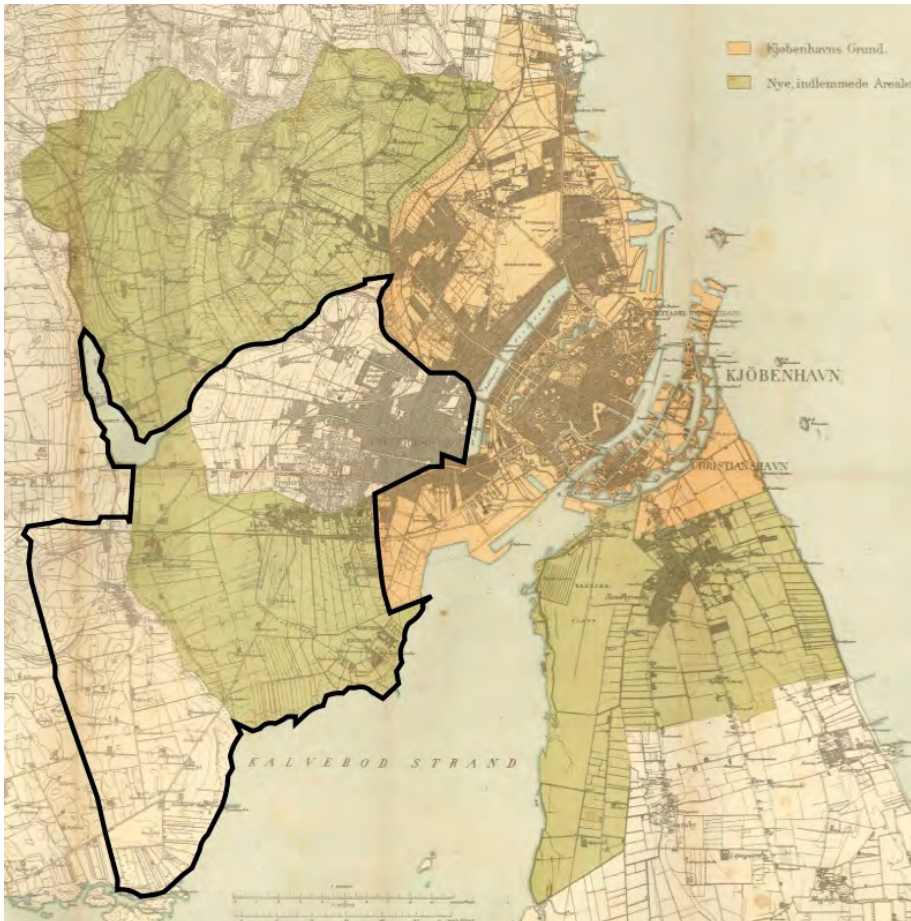
⁵⁸ Stilling, N. P.: *De nye byer – stationsbyernes befolkningsforhold og funktion 1840-1940*, 1987, p. 488 and p. 9

⁵⁹ Cf. chapter 7, *Hvidovre - a brief account of its long history*, and the section *Hvidovre's periurban phase* p 164

⁶⁰ For example Bro, H. et al. (eds.) *Hovedstadsmetropolen efter 1945*, HOKA 2011, p. 18 and Bro, H. *Frederiksberg – et byhistorisk arbejdsfelt, Frederiksberg gennem Tiderne* vol. 37, 2014, p. 92

⁶¹ W.H. *Frederiksborgske Tilstande – en Skizze*, Copenhagen 1949, p. 5

‘was granted largely the same trade freedom as the market towns that same year’.⁶²



The municipality of Frederiksberg-Hvidovre is shown within the black line, whereas the city of Copenhagen is marked with orange. Frederiksbergs geographical potential to balance Copenhagen in a bipolar urban landscape is obvious but focus on shortsighted economical gains led to Frederiksbergs dismissal of Hvidovre and Valby in 1858. When Copenhagen in 1901-02 incorporated the areas marked with green there was no longer a growth-potential for Frederiksberg.

At the same time it was not uncommon for the corresponding developed districts in Copenhagen, Vesterbro and Nørrebro, to be referred to as suburban, and the tram

⁶² Eberlin, A. *Frederiksberg*, 1888, p. 159.

line linking Vesterbro and Nørrebro by a route across the Frederiksberg was called the 'Suburban Line'.

But the Frederiksberg approach to local history is also a good example of how urban history, with its focus on the city as the development-generating structure, has a high status. Local history in Frederiksberg vibrates with an old political desire to appear as a twin town in relation to Copenhagen.

In this connection it can be said that in the description of the urban development process, 'urbanity' was obviously the attractive goal for the writers who described urbanization during this period.

There exists abundant older literature on some of the areas that developed into Copenhagen suburbs in the period after the middle of the 19th century. This is classic historical / topographical literature based on the statement of fact that what was no longer is, and therefore remembrance of it must be conveyed to posterity.

The rural municipals north of Copenhagen, which had been included in the Copenhagen country-house cultural sphere as early as the 18th century, attracted early interest as sights – not least because of cultural reminiscences of royalty, nobility and later the upper middle class. The need of the educated classes to document the specific quality of their environment was also expressed at an early stage in the form of topographical and local-historical publications.

This later came to areas west and south of Copenhagen. But the Copenhagen district of Valby was included in the 1930s when the writer S.F. Nørlyng wrote the first local history.

'The possible justification for this work is therefore only that in a clear and – hopefully – readable form it presents historical material that has not previously been treated in any detail in context, and which perhaps will be able to accommodate the interest in their place of residence which is fortunately so common among people in our day'.⁶³

A good ten years later it reached the next station town/suburb on the railway line, Glostrup.

'Glostrupbogen (The Glostrup book) is not being created for the sake of great national history, but for all those who have pursued their activities around here, and it is not created by the great historical writers, but by

⁶³ Nørlyng, S.F. *Træk af Valbys Historie*, Copenhagen 1934, p. 5

*all those who wish to contribute to the unearthing and preservation of the history of the area*⁶⁴

In 1971 Nis Nissen published a kaleidoscopic and polemical work on Danish housing policy and housing conditions in Denmark. His book *Den kroniske bolignød* (The chronic housing shortage) was a rare example of the suburbs, in the sense of 'residential area', being treated as an integral part of the city – in this case Copenhagen. The book's topical perspective was to be part of the debate that was linked to the great paradigm shift around industrialized housing and the social housing sector, but the chapter on "Our past dream of living" was – although biased – a clear and sober analysis of the powerful forces behind and in suburban formation.⁶⁵

The development and appearance of the Danish suburb only became the subject of professional historical interest in the late 1980s – a few years after the station town had appeared on the agenda. A few Danish studies of Copenhagen's earliest modern suburb formations were conducted in the 1970s as part of the larger research project *Industrialism's Buildings and Homes*. They did not create a school in their approach to the suburbs as a field of research. Nevertheless, with their point of departure in the context of industrial history, they pointed to the link between industrialization and suburban growth.

The buildings in the earliest Copenhagen suburbs that were analysed here pointed in style just as much to the already well-known city as to the new forms and structures that came to characterize the next generation of suburbs⁶⁶ with their multi-storey buildings in straight street layouts which basically parroted the inner city – just in more regulated form under the impact of new building legislation. It is clear that the disciplinary framework at this time was more social and economic history than urban history.

The first Danish book on a suburb was published at almost the same time. With the collected work on Rødovre, on the occasion of a municipal anniversary, cultural historians took the first major professional step with an example of twentieth-century suburb development.⁶⁷ Despite the work's professional character, this was

⁶⁴ Højer, P. (ed.) *Glostrupbogen 1*, Glostrup 1948, p. 1

⁶⁵ Nissen, N. *Den kroniske bolignød – og fremtidens boligpolitik*, Fremad 1971, pp. 161-171

⁶⁶ Hansen, J.E.F.: *Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850'erne*, 1977. Willerslev, R.: *Sådan boede vi. Arbejdernes boligforhold i København omkring 1880*, 1979

⁶⁷ Rambusch, S. (ed.): *Rødovre 1901-76*, 1979

done typically with local history as the rationale and framework. The publication was municipal, had appropriate coffee-table quality and was rooted in the popular local history association environment.

The local-historical approach was to characterize work on Danish suburban history for a long period and reflects an institutional structure where new professional historical environments arose around the major local archives, which in the Copenhagen area were mostly municipally organized and funded. The local cultural heritage museums in the Copenhagen suburbs, where they existed, also predominantly had strong municipal affiliations.

The municipal association of the local cultural heritage institutions meant in general a professional practice where the municipal boundary also marked the boundary of the field of research, exactly as had been the case with older Copenhagen urban history. Obtaining municipal financial engagement in cultural-historical work involves basic topographical boundaries that reflect the local political/administrative boundaries – as has to some extent also been the case with this work.

In 1986, as a regional exception, the first of four planned volumes about suburban development around Copenhagen was published, and the third and last appeared as late as 1993. The work was initiated by the Copenhagen County Museum Council and was an attempt to repair the existing museum structure, which did not cover most of the suburbs.⁶⁸ The starting point for the county-defined project structure led to the same problems of outlook and demarcation as experienced by the municipally defined institutions – just on a slightly larger scale.

The starting point of this suburban history project was the contemporary political/geographical structuring of the Copenhagen area based on the Finger Plan cityscape. The studies therefore operated with a division of the suburban landscape into a Western region, a North West region, and Amager. This made it possible to focus on the phase shift in the overall development of the Copenhagen suburbs from the organic and unplanned growth- ring expansion that prevailed until the middle of the 20th century to the planned urban growth of the post-war period. The starting point of the project in the socially segregated suburban landscape was thus

⁶⁸ The four volumes were geographically planned with inspiration from “Fingerplanen for Københavns fremtidige Udvikling”, Hvidberg, E. and Jensen, H.T.: *Vestegnen – fra gartneriland til forstad*, 1986, *Nordvestegnen – fra bondeland til bylandskab*, 1987, *Udsigt til Amager: Udviklingen i Tårnby og Dragør kommuner i dette århundrede*, 1993. A fourth volume about the northern region that had been planned was halted for institutional political reasons.

also to frame a past in which the future suburban landscape still contained several more possible directions of development.

At this time suburban life had also become a legitimate field of research in ethnology, where, for example, Lene Floris focused in her 1987 thesis on independent tradesmen in the Copenhagen suburb of Vanløse.⁶⁹

1988 saw the publication of the first Danish monographs where the suburbs were researched in terms of phenomenology, conservation and social history and politics with a point of departure in local history. The approach was ethnological and historical respectively and reflected the fact that the suburb had become academically visible and attractive in several disciplinary circles.⁷⁰

The burgeoning cultural-history work on the Danish suburbs generated a brief discussion in the cultural-history journal *Fortid og Nutid* (Past and Present) at the beginning of the 1990s. The starting point was an article that sought to identify the Danish suburbs as an historical subject and to get a first grasp of their time depth, diversity and complexity and – perhaps most importantly – their continuous development towards a new urbanity.⁷¹

The subsequent contributions by the ethnologist Peter Dragsbo and the historian J.T. Lauridsen identified and qualified aspects that were currently central. Peter Dragsbo discussed the relationship between ‘suburb’ and ‘neighbourhood’ in an identity-historical approach and linked it to work on the class-divided urban landscape’s homogeneous creation of neighbourhoods, and J.T. Lauridsen later developed a model for working with urban history on the basis of neighbourhood history, but with demands for an ongoing relationship between the local and the universal.⁷² In contrast to the historical-scholarly interest in the station town, growing academic interest in the suburbs was here to stay for an extended period. However, it was still a long run-up from the very beginning in the late 1970s until 2006 when the

⁶⁹ Floris, L.: *Livshistorie og livsform. En etnologisk undersøgelse af selvstændige næringsdrivende i en forstad gennem 3 generationer*. Thesis in ethnology, Copenhagen University 1987

⁷⁰ Dragsbo, P.: *Forstæder i Esbjerg, 1900-1960*, Esbjerg 1988. Sverrild, P.: *Lysthusbeboerne – en forstad fødes*, Hvidovre 1988

⁷¹ Sverrild, P. “Forstaden – byens forlængelse – ny by – eller?”, *Fortid og Nutid* Dec. 1992, pp. 237-251

⁷² Pedersen, E.H. “Dansk lokalhistorie i mands minde. En historiografisk skitse”, *Fortid og Nutid*, October 1997, pp. 155-217

Cultural Heritage Agency, along with the foundation Realdania, selected a suburb as one of four Danish 'cultural heritage municipalities'. The 'suburb' was thus placed on the agenda as an object that deserved to be assessed for conservation on an equal footing with other urban forms of settlement.⁷³

The suburbs are also a structure with a completely different spatial and building-related dimension and, in time, temporal depth of development from the station towns before the original development basis was removed. In the course of one century, 'the suburb' proved to be a growing universal urban form of social organization, and fitted out with the rationales of modernism it has, for better or worse, gone from strength to strength on all the inhabited continents on the planet.

In Denmark, the historical approach to the suburbs has focused on some of the elements that are particularly prominent here in relation to the city and the country. One area of interest is single-family houses as the distinctive suburban idiom with the greatest area involving architectural-history, cultural-history and planning-history perspectives. Another field of interest targets the public sector and includes architectural, welfare, planning and social history. The third area of interest is based on identity/administrative/political history and often takes the form of local history, which in line with the historical development of institutions in the suburbs has become increasingly professional in its approach.

The housing component in the suburbs has been the central object of historiography in relation to the commercial areas, recreational landscapes or infrastructural facilities that have also been part of the suburban landscape almost from the very beginning.

For up to a hundred and fifty years, the suburbs were both the attractive and the possible response to the settlement challenge of industrial society. 'The suburb' went from strength to strength in forms that varied over time and geography, and between cultural forms and ideals. Nevertheless, the physical and cultural expression of the suburbs has been criticized by opinion-makers for much of their existence, despite the fact that generations of newcomers have emphasized their success precisely by moving there.

With 150 years of developmental history, the Danish suburb has experienced many layers of cultural expression, ideals and technologies, levels of planning, economic framework conditions, political conditions and demographic developments. Despite

⁷³ Cultural Heritage Agency: *Kulturarven – et aktiv*. Recommendations by four cultural heritage municipalities, 2007

all the variables, none of the suburbs of the period have seriously sought to mime the classic city logic and physicality but, as mentioned, city features occur in suburbs with a history as a station town.

The suburb as typology has basically not been addressed in Danish cultural-history literature. In recent years, the Realdania Foundation has engaged in the development of the suburbs with projects that have sought not least to infuse them with some of the townscape that it has been agreed that they lacked.⁷⁴ As part of the suburb project, in 2010 the Foundation supported the work of identifying construction and building typologies in the Danish suburbs between 1945 and 1989. With the book the built-up suburban environment was studied, quantified and categorized, but the suburb as an urbanization form was not addressed.⁷⁵

Here for the first time was a description of the post-war Danish suburb elements, and thus it becomes easier to launch comparative studies of local ‘cases’ and to obtain real pictures of the individual development potential of each suburb within the framework of the common basic conditions.

WHO INVENTED THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE NEIGHBOURHOOD?

The literature on the history of Danish housing has an abundance of material on the identification and canonization of a variety of residential, architectural and planning initiatives based on inspiration from both practical and theoretical projects on public housing in England and Germany, architecture-theoretical showdowns with the technocratic city and the practical/ideological breakthrough with Ebenezer Howard’s work.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The Foundation’s engagement in the development of the downtown project for the municipality of Greve can be regarded as an example of this multi-faceted activity.

⁷⁵ *Forstadens bygningskultur 1945-1989*, Dansk Bygningsarv/Realdania, 2010

⁷⁶ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret? Forstaden har en historie*, 2008. In the first chapters of this book, Peter Dragsbo provides an exemplary overview of the history of Danish housing, with a focus on the great sources of inspiration and their scattered impact on Danish planning and building practice. His review reflects the dominant consensus among historians and planning and architectural circles on the interpretation of Danish housing history.

The sparse Danish literature on Danish suburban history was fully listed by Peter Dragsbo in ‘Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret’, and the list has since been supplemented by very few works.⁷⁷

In recent years the two main lines in the residential suburbs in Denmark have been thoroughly scrutinized. The major large-scale descriptions of the public sector have been based on the building activities of individual housing associations, focusing on the history of the social housing sector, and most recently they have been an object of interest as part of the welfare society’s cultural heritage.

Similarly, in recent years the second main line, the single-family house, has been treated in a few key works. In 1996 Olaf Lind and Jonas Møller published the comprehensive description of the history of the detached house. The point of the book was that although the single-family house had been written about previously, *‘interest has only focused on the most important architectural works ... this is the first coherent presentation of the Danish house for better and for worse’*.⁷⁸

The book appeared in the context of a Copenhagen City of Culture project and formed part of a project that also included an exhibition. It was published by Arkitektens Forlag and the associated exhibition was shown at Gl. Dok. Thus, although the book emphasized that it was not just about ‘great’ architecture, it basically represented an architectonic and architectural-history approach. It was therefore natural to take a point of departure in the house and not in housing policy or general housing history – not to speak of the history of urban development or of the suburb, which is the original ‘biotype’ for this type of house.

The book identified four phases in the development history of the single-family house and created a periodization based on significant changes in house types. It created a first phase from 1860 to about 1918, when the detached house was established as an attractive form of housing for the upper middle class and when new legislation secured a place on the housing market for housing associations.

⁷⁷ In the intersection between housing and suburban history, special mention is due to Weirup, T. *Forstadsland*, 2012 and Bendsen, J.R., Kleis, B., Morgen, M.A., *Bellahøj – fortællinger om en bebyggelse*, 2015

⁷⁸ Lind, O., Møller, J. “Bag hækken – det danske parcelhus i lyst og nød”, *Arkitekten* 1996, p. 5. A new, revised edition was published in 2014: Lind, O. and Møller, J. *Alle tiders parcelhuse, 1860-2012*, Gyldendal.

The next phase from about 1920 to 1960, when more than 300,000 single-family houses were built, was the period when the detached house broke through and accounted for 40 % of the house-building of the time. It was the period when functionalism gained acceptance and introduced new planning solutions and new building materials and when the sector began to be industrialized.

The third phase from 1960-1980 was the heyday of the standard house within the framework of the explosive increase in prosperity during the first part of the period. More than 400,000 single-family houses were built during this period of a mere twenty years. The standard house created a building market with great variation in prices, living space and architecture/building practices and thus access to the detached house for broad groups of the increasingly prosperous population. The enormous growth of the period created residential neighbourhoods of an unprecedented extent and with the new subdivision structures inspired by the Anglo-American world.

The book's final phase was the period after 1980, which was characterized by a sharp drop in construction activity and a new focus on the organization of housing in communities. This is where the book's architectural starting point really made itself felt by focusing on the numerically uninteresting but architecturally innovative forms of housing.

Like other writers who have addressed the issue, the authors worked on the assumption that general housing and construction history is not widely known. The book, like recent books, therefore has detours that not least illuminate the great story of Danish housing. The greats of Danish housing history from 'Tårnbor' and 'Kartoffelrækkerne' to 'Blangstedsgård' and 'Egebjerggård' provide the sounding-board for the book's presentation of the many varieties of the single-family house and to some extent the developmental history of the types of parcelling-out.

The book's framing of the single-family house parcel is well grounded in the descriptions of the general development of society with a view to the financial, political and cultural conditions for building, but it only pays marginal attention to the importance of the detached house for urban formation. The single-family house got its history, but the neighbourhood or the suburb did not.

In 2008 the ethnologist and curator Peter Dragsbo (PD) published the first attempt at a broad overview of the suburbs, the single-family house neighbourhood and the single-family house. The book was a marked preliminary keystone in PD's decades-long work with the suburbs as a field of research and acts as a canonization of the suburb as an object of research in urban and urban planning history.

The duality in the title, *Who invented the single-family house neighbourhood? The suburb has a history*, indicates the complexity of the subject matter. With the subtitle ‘The suburb has a history’, PD was stating that the place of the suburb in the cultural heritage was no longer up for discussion, but at the same time that it was still necessary to point this out. The title’s question about who invented the single-family house neighbourhood stressed that the book’s main subject was the single-family house irrespective of whether the neighbourhoods were full of villas or detached houses.

‘It is an attempt to write the book about suburban neighbourhoods in the new urban environments of the 20th century. Through the suburb, the book attempts to provide answers to some of the questions in the last 100 years of urban and urban planning history. Who created the 20th century’s urban planning in Denmark and how it was received in the Danish cities? When did people start to talk about ‘housing for workers’ and what was the route to social housing? Where and why do now speak of both villa and house, both single-family house and detached house’⁷⁹

One of the great strengths of the book is that it works with very comprehensive exemplary material from the whole country and would seem to be without geographical bias. The book’s urban-historical approach has limited its temporal boundary to the twentieth century. In this respect it is comfortably within the tradition of the history of urban planning in Denmark, where the focus is on familiar canonized building projects and the history of organizations, but here the book’s geographical breadth ensures fresh knowledge and insight

The suburban areas presented in book contain a great deal of the history of workers’ housing, a little garden-city history, some planning history and a lot of architectural history.

On the other hand, the suburb is hardly present as anything other than an undefined setting for single-family house developments, villa neighbourhoods, the plans for garden cities and the social housing settlements that constitute the book’s many case studies. The subtitle ‘*The suburb has a history*’ is vindicated by the many housing development cases that are geographically situated in the suburbs, but fundamentally the book does not deal with the suburb as a phenomenon – merely the elements of the suburb that are visible through housing and planning history.

The diffuse presence of the suburb in the book points back to the inconclusive Danish discussion of suburban history from the 1990s, in which the history of the suburb was

⁷⁹ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret? Forstaden har en historie*, 2008, pp. 8-9

set against the history of the neighbourhood.⁸⁰ The discussion was less specifically about the object as such than about the ownership of its history, but underlying it was the agenda of creating a common understanding of the object, so that the smaller suburban neighbourhoods of the provincial cities and the suburban municipalities of the capital could be encompassed by the same explanatory models.

The issue of scale was crucial to the basis of the discussion, but so was the relationship between the monofunctional suburban neighbourhood and the functionally differentiated but multifunctional suburban municipality. There is still scope here for discussion and clarification.

The chronological delimitation of the book means that the oldest suburbs, the *-bro* neighbourhoods, are not considered as anything other than sites for early single-family-home building. This lets the author avoid relating to the suburb's potential for urban transformation over time, while at the same time the effect of urban planning on the transformation potential of the suburb becomes invisible.

*'What we lose by not including the first decades of the suburbs is the history of the cities' unplanned establishment of suburb-like marginal built-up areas which might have a short lifetime prior to their subsequent swallowing-up by the classic city. The Copenhagen -bro neighbourhoods underwent such a development from the end of the 1850s until the turn of the century, which could exemplify that we might have seen a markedly different urban development in the twentieth century, had it not – over and above the changing ideals – been for the preservative effect of (urban) planning. Here we find a suburban development which, without burdensome urban-planning regulations, in the course of a few decades ensured a fluid transition from extensive to intensive utilization (from suburban character to urbanity, as the observer will see today) in accordance with the market conditions of the scarcely regulated city. Today a number of later suburban structures would have loved to have had this possibility along the way, and many suburbs struggle now to find solutions that can promote an urbanity that now seems to be alien to the suburb'.*⁸¹

Canonized housing history contains on the one hand the major workers' housing projects from the social-philanthropic 'Brumleby' in Østre Fælled in Copenhagen over 'help-to-self-help' construction projects such as the famous Copenhagen

⁸⁰ Fortid og Nutid 1992-93, articles and debate by Sverrild, P., Lauridsen, John T. and Dragsbo, P.

⁸¹ Sverrild, P. Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret? – Forstaden har en historie. Review 2009 <http://www.historie-online.dk/nyt/bogfeature/parcelhuskvarter.htm>

‘kartoffelrækker’ and the state-supported building societies around the turn of the century to the social housing movement that started just before the First World War. In this context, as something new in a Danish context, PD added ‘garden city’. He noted on the one hand that

*‘In Denmark, the garden city idea was associated with social housing in particular’.*⁸²



‘Kartoffelrækkerne’ in Copenhagen stand out as the most famed ‘help-to-selfhelp’ housing-project for skilled workers in the second half of the 19th century. This housing-project has become the benchmark for development of 21.st century low-dense in Copenhagen. Thus early Danish suburban form and function has been transformed into modern urban storytelling.

Photo Jonas Visbech, 2014

On the other hand, he linked garden-city thinking with the single-family house movement, which he identified as a working-class initiative and as organized as association projects in the spirit of the time.

*‘The single-family house movement came ‘from below’, created by the working class in the Danish cities through hundreds and hundreds of associations’.*⁸³

*‘It was a working-class project. It was organized in communities, and it was about how to get a private garden and a private house – in that order’.*⁸⁴

PD’s focus on the single-family house movement is unequivocally on the organized and often idealistic effort to provide workers with land for building sites, and the activity is well documented in the provincial towns. He simultaneously emphasizes the connection between the allotment gardens and the single-family house garden

⁸² Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret? Forstaden har en historie*, 2008, p. 102

⁸³ Ibid, p. 193

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 192

owners and connects the theme with planning history, which is the second theme of the book, completely in line with Danish tradition.⁸⁵

The book portrays the struggle of modernity to establish order amidst the chaos and threatening social development of the recently urbanized community. It is therefore basically all the exceptions that are described. Since the exceptions gradually became the norm – or at least attractive in disciplinary terms – in the course of the last decades of the twentieth century, in this respect it is natural for the book to stop with the good times in the ‘heyday’ of the welfare city. Had the book continued further into the future, its basic narrative about the civilizational march of planning and good architecture towards the future through the 20th century would not have been so acute.

The reason that the suburb has not been clearer conceptually in Danish literature seems to be related to the prominence of other agendas. Architecture and planning are the two issues that have predominated. The central role of architecture and planning in societal design in the twentieth century has clearly led more to investigations of the international sources of inspiration for Danish planners than of what was actually created.

We do not know the Danish suburb before we have supplemented our knowledge of what was built with knowledge of the relationships that have created the individual parts of the built landscape at a more detailed level than the one where we dare make cocksure statements about the universal validity of typologies and social landscapes.



Single-family homes on the outskirts of the village Tranum, Jammerbugt Municipality in northern Jutland. The two main dwelling types of the Danish suburb give rise to difficulties in the characterization of built-up areas. The

single-family home of the suburb spread in the course of the second half of the twentieth century to outskirts of even the smallest village. But suburb... ?

Poul Sverrild 2010

⁸⁵ Cf chapter 11 ‘Garden City – Garden Suburb’

6 FUNCTIONS AND PHASES IN DANISH SUBURBAN HISTORY

This chapter is an outline to structure the historical suburb formation around Copenhagen in a proposal for a chronological/typological/architectonic/functional order and to relate Danish categories and chronology to an international schematic. The chapter does not pretend to be an authoritative account, but it illustrates an obvious need to link place, physical condition, chronology and reputation in the understanding of the suburb.

The universal emergence of suburbs and the many apparently common standards, chronologies and preferences call for the establishment of a 'Linnaean taxonomy' for suburbs. However, field studies in suburban history point rather in the direction of an endless series of mutations instead of a stringent system allocated from 'kingdoms' to 'species'.

The chapter examines the surrounding world's changing view of the Copenhagen suburban landscape in a process of dialogue with Professor Morten Zerlang, a literary historian who was the first to trace the Copenhagen suburbs in Danish literature.

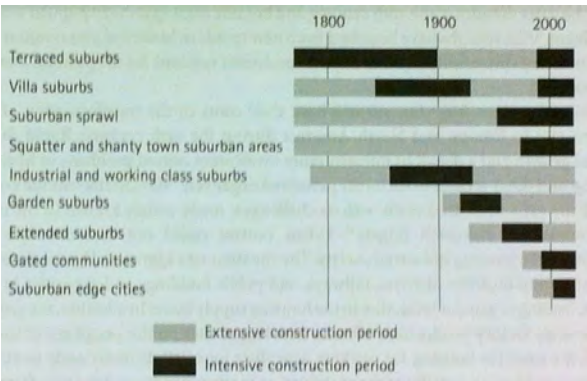
In an attempt to combine typology and time for suburban structures, in 2013 J.S. Jauhiainen set up a proposal for a globally applicable schematic that covered the period from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 21st century.

J.S. Jauhiainen emphasized both the general and the relative nature of the table. On the one hand, development went from unplanned, unregulated suburbs towards those that were planned and regulated. He identified and chronologized nine categories of suburban developments, and he structured both typology and chronology on a British context. The author was aware that the typologies would develop great variations over time and space.⁸⁶

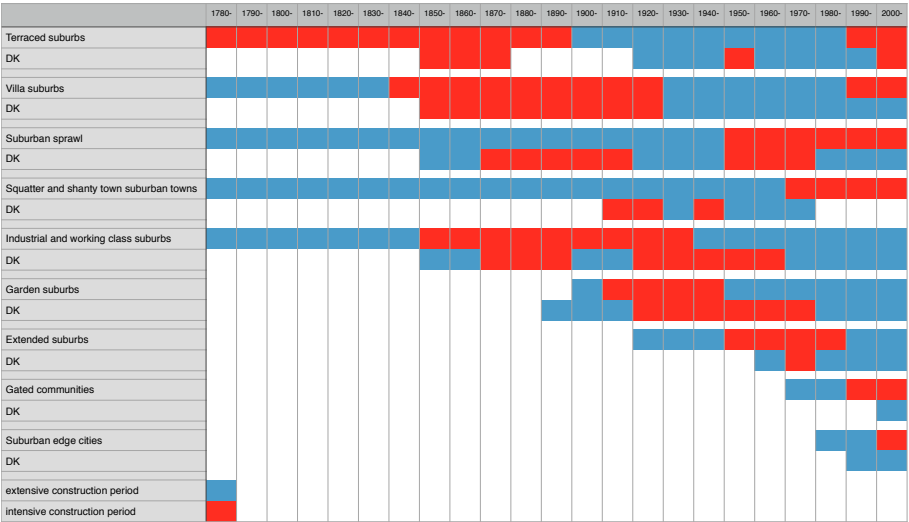
The preparation of the suburban schematic for Jauhiainen's review article on the suburbs in international urban history is seen primarily as an expression of a quite fundamental need to create a clear descriptive framework that can contribute to an overview of the history of global suburban development. The danger of

⁸⁶ Jauhiainen, J.S., *Suburbs*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 2013. p. 793

simplifications like this, on the other hand, is that the mere fact of their existence directs the focus to the common in relation to the individual.



Jauhiainens table clearly is meant to illustrate a very general pattern since it should have global relevance. Beneath the table is redrawn for comparison with Danish conditions which are shown for each typology in the line below Jauhiainens.



When the schematic is transferred to a Danish context, the necessity of Jauhiainen's reservations about the timing differences becomes obvious. In a late industrialized country like Denmark, suburban history is shorter than in Britain or on the continent. On the other hand, there is a convergence in time of several categories and chronologies, for example, the category of villa suburbs and the start of working class suburbs.

However, some of the schematic's choice of typologies seem less relevant for Danish conditions. 'Terraced suburbs', which dominated in the UK for more than a

century, are only met with in the infancy of Danish suburban history, for example Lægeforeningens housing and Kartoffelrækkerne in Copenhagen. They did not form a school in Denmark before post-war terraced housing, which inspired the dense/low movement⁸⁷, and finally in the last few decades in connection with the recycling of the old harbour and industrial areas where the suburban townhouse was introduced as a rediscovered urban dwelling.

Similarly, in Denmark at the other end of the chronologies and typologies it is difficult to find the actual '*gated communities*', which we mainly see emerging in the latest urban regenerations, where the neoliberal city is developing privatized spaces in categories that previously were public. In addition, in a Danish (Copenhagen) context '*suburban edge cities*' are difficult to distinguish from the notions about suburban development in recent decades. Strict Danish legislation on urban sprawl and the whole complex of planned physical development comes into play here.

Underlying Jauhiainen's list of typologies is a centre- periphery understanding of suburban development in the sense that it begins with the oldest and most urban typology and ends with the youngest and most peripheral. This structuring can be recognized in most of the world, but in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, with their tradition of regulating urban growth, it can stand alone to a lesser extent only.

Shifting the focus from the unique to the common in the schematic points to the underlying mechanisms in the process of urbanization that have more general validity. From a Danish position, typologies relating to the dream in all groups in society of own house and garden, '*villa suburbs*' and '*garden suburbs*,' can be recognized. In the Danish context, and as described later in the thesis, '*squatter and shanty town suburban areas*' rank in the same category.

'*Squatter and shanty town suburban areas*' is a good example of the importance of categorization in relation to structuring the suburbs physically, socially and chronologically. Jauhiainen's schematic naturally places this category's centre of gravity in the present, where so much of the urban growth in the Third World is in the shape of informal settlements.

Transferred to Danish conditions, the centre of gravity is placed in the first half of the 20th century, and the same applies to, for example, Berlin. Here categorization immediately helps to identify the same needs/scale over geography and time.

⁸⁷ Sverrild, P. *Renewal, Listing and Democracy in Expansion & Conflict*, Docomomo Korea 2014, p. 85-86

However, it does not help to understand that it is not necessarily a category with the same social profile across either geography or time. In Denmark, residents of 'squatter and shanty town suburban areas' were socially and economically more solid than in Berlin⁸⁸, and in both places they were far from the socio-economic reality in similar areas of the current Third World. On the other hand, in these years a new middle class in the Third World have their homes in shanty town-like structures.

The strength of the schematic lies in it pointing to the complexity over time and geography at the same time, while simultaneously articulating the global impact of the general mechanisms behind the suburbs. By pointing out the general, on the other hand, the schematic paves the way for the investigation of deviations that will then constitute a new norm.

Interest in identifying general and expectedly representative suburban typologies refers back to past assumptions that the suburb was a typological landscape where physical conditions and culture were connected in a predictable manner and were part of a predictable relationship with the city. The balance between the general and the specific, theory and example and myth and reality is an underlying theme of this entire thesis. With the schematic in mind, the following suggestions for a Copenhagen/Danish structuring of suburban formation present a picture of the complexity that must necessarily follow the meeting between model and case.

The modern Danish suburbs added new functional divisions to the urban landscape at an early stage. Almost from the beginning, the most salient characteristic was social and functional segregation in the geographical dimension. In the suburban landscape around Copenhagen, it took less than ten years for the suburbs to be organized in a social structure that was described in the media:

'Entertainment establishments or beer halls will never be sited here [Østerbro], nor the things Vesterbro is privileged to contain. One could not imagine building tenements here designed for dozens of small families, the privilege of Nørrebro. Here it is rural, beautiful and peaceful'.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ As will be described later, most of the illegal residents around Copenhagen owned their parcels and were therefore regular prospective house owners, when in general in Berlin there were no individually owned parcels. Urban, F. *The Hut on the Garden Plot: Informal Architecture in Twentieth-Century Berlin*. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol 72, No 2 (June 2013) p. 227

⁸⁹ *Illustreret Tidende* 1863.

Apart from the fact that Frederiksberg was not mentioned in *Illustreret Tidende's* social geography for reasons to do with municipal history, the general framework of the future social structure around Copenhagen was laid out in a geography that was, by and large, to hold for about 150 years – the whole period of the development of the industrial city and the welfare city up to the turn of the millennium.

In 1863, Inner Amager, which in many ways was to complete the arc of a simple social geography to the west of Copenhagen, was not yet part of the city's suburban structure, as the line of demarcation was only abolished in 1909. However, the position of the future part of town in the social geography was fundamentally predictable given the large population of workers a little farther out on the island and the history of Amager's function as a repository for the contents of Copenhagen's latrines, which ceased as late as 1854.



The main orientation in the social geography of Copenhagen came to follow a semicircle west of the city, with declining status from north towards south. This was the factual picture from the formation of the earliest suburbs up to the transition to the post-industrial city. Today this pattern has been broken, not least on Amager, thanks to new investments in infrastructure and changed cultural preferences.

In the longer term Amager's past as a latrine dump stigmatized the island with the name 'the shit island', and only in the course of the latest two decades has the island emancipated itself from its original placing in the urban social geography. Amager has the clearest examples of the way it has been possible to break up the social geography of Greater Copenhagen in the wake of the shift in the urban growth focus from periphery to centre.

A hundred and fifty years of descriptions in the press and in literature played a large part in creating stereotyped contemporary ideas of the suburb. In the longer term, notions such as the dreariness of 'the suburb', its cultural penury, its materialistic culture, its child-friendliness, its environmental impact etc. have helped to define the room for manoeuvre of the suburbs themselves for development and change.

In an article from 2001 on the occasion of the centenary of Copenhagen's incorporation of Brønshøj, Valby and 'the Sundbys', the literary scholar Martin Zerlang presented the only proposal so far for an overview of 'the suburb and its authors, based on the urban structure of Copenhagen'.⁹⁰

Martin Zerlang's approach to the suburb was classically centralistic in its hierarchical distribution of roles between city and periphery, thus remaining loyally close to the stance in the literature he included.

'A preface is related to a book like suburb to city. Just as a suburb leads in to the city, the preface leads in to the book. And just as a suburb is an obstacle one rushes through as fast as possible, the preface is an obstacle one preferably skips to get to the matter itself.'

Given this perspective, it is not strange that he could state by way of introduction that in the first instance there was not much to be found about suburbs in literature, but that their absence also contained a message;

'...[that] the extremely visible change in the townscape is not correspondingly visible in the world of literature.'
'But silence can also speak volumes and the descriptions of suburbs that nevertheless exist show why most authors chose to pass over them in silence.'

The literary angle will be included in the following proposal for structuring the development of the suburbs in phases, organized around a combination of geography, chronology and building typology.

Martin Zerlang's work may be supplemented by examples from fiction, which can help to illustrate the starting point and meaning of the stereotypes and not least serve to stress that the recent literary-historical approach to the suburbs is just as subject to the stereotypes as the fictional approach. I have sometimes supplemented it with literary examples to correct and elaborate this dimension.

THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS IN THE SUBURBS

In one respect, the modern, functionally organized landscape was complete already from the earliest suburban formation, in that, for the first time, large areas were created exclusively for residential purposes.

⁹⁰ Zerlang, M., 'Forstaden og dens forfattere', in *Da København fik vokseværk, Historiske Meddelelser om København* 2001, pp. 85-94.

Not long after this the localization of businesses also began developing in clusters, and around 1900 industrial areas proper appeared in both Copenhagen and Frederiksberg.⁹¹

With a point of departure in the reality of Greater Copenhagen it has been natural to work with the suburbs in the functional, physical and geographical form they took on precisely there, with a preponderance of suburban structures with political / administrative independence in relation to 'the parent city'. This means that I do not work with the neighbourhood-history approach that lay behind a statement like:

'[...] the suburb is, by definition, almost exclusively a residential area, occupied by people whose business takes them to a distant city'.⁹²

The existence of the suburb fundamentally presupposes that of a population, and its functioning presupposes a mobility in relation to the totality of urban activities, so a suburb without homes or infrastructure is inconceivable, but as is the case with Copenhagen's suburban history, a number of other elements were embedded from the outset.

'I would argue that suburbs are best defined as a category of settlement that is one of the many types of the built environment of housing settlement types, commercial and industrial spaces, as well as infrastructures that include high-rise apartments, town houses, condominiums, family homes, and illegal settlements that are now part of the emerging fabric of an urbanized world'.⁹³

With the addition of recreational areas the above quotation applies to the Copenhagen situation.

In general, the overall structure of the suburban landscape in Denmark up through the 20th century was centered around four functions that reflected the basic demands of the labour movement regarding the tripartite division of the day, with the addition of the obviously necessary element of movement.

1. Infrastructure
2. Housing

⁹¹ In Copenhagen, the industrial area in Valby around Trekronergade was zoned in connection with the large-scale incorporations in 1901.

⁹² Osborn, F.J., Whittick, A.: *New Towns*, 1977, p. XV.

⁹³ McGee, T., "Suburbanization in the Twenty-First-Century World", in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p. 25.

3. Workplace
4. Recreational landscape

INFRASTRUCTURE

The first element of the 'suburb' is the infrastructure that facilitates the access of future residents and businesses to the other features of the urban fabric. The infrastructure in the Copenhagen suburbs consisted in principle of the axes that previously gave the capital access to the hinterland and more remote parts of the country.

The earliest suburbanization took place along the roads, and fundamentally the roads came to structure the suburbs through the first 150 years of their existence. In the earliest phase, the localization of housing development was based on the possibility of moving on foot between home and workplace.



The bicycle served for decades as the primary commuting instrument in the inner suburban rings. Strøbyvej 1915.

Forstads museet B16005

Over time, changing technologies from horse-drawn trams, steam trains and bicycles to buses, electrified rail tracks and motorcars have created infrastructural facilities that stand out among the physical characteristics of the suburbs. Infrastructure and 'suburbs' were created in a reciprocal urban logic, which was developed over time in line with changing ideals, needs and technologies.

Major roads, railways and motorways have fundamentally only been the subject of historical studies when the starting point has been in local history, while contributions from traffic history and planning history have shed light on broader

developmental aspects of these systems and their planning processes, but without any overall connection with Danish suburban research.

HOUSING

In Denmark the suburbs have enriched urban expression with several new types of residence: the owner-occupied detached single-family house; terraced, block, park or dense/low-rise housing and totally planned element construction. The main categories, of course, cover a wide variety of expressions and functions within the individual forms.

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dag fra 7—8.** Selskabet har ledet Opførelsen af over 600 Villaer
i København og Omegn.
Københavns almindelige Boligselskab.
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The social housing organization KAB frequently advertized its role as facilitator for privately-owned single-family houses in the local periodicals. After only 6 years of existence KAB had assisted the building of more than 600 private houses in and around Copenhagen. The role as facilitator for individual home-ownership has not been spoken of since as the division between social housing and individual ownership has grown into a main ideological topic in Danish housing-politics. This split replaced the earlier conflict between single-family houses and multistory tenement-houses.

Parcellisten, 21. Oct. 1927.

From time to time throughout the twentieth century, political/ideological battles broke out between supporters of the various types of buildings, and not least between the forms of ownership that characterized and still characterize the Danish housing sector. As regards the latter, a somewhat confusing picture emerges in which the contradiction only really became established during the post-war period. In the first half of the century; the fronts had not yet been drawn up, and in the early 1920s, Københavns Almindelige Boligselskab (a non-profit housing association in

Copenhagen) could be found in the role of facilitator for privately-owned single-family homes.

Typologically, single-family houses dominated throughout the period with multi-storey buildings as an ideological contradiction, but along the way there were also minor battles between high-rise and lower multi-storey buildings. Over the past four decades, it has been the totally planned urban structures from the 1960s and 1970s that have been a main focus of discussion and commitment on the part of politicians, administrators and researchers, irrespective of whether they were designed as block, terrace or mixed development.

International influence is omnipresent in the historical works on the Danish suburbs, and one reference is constantly cited: Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*.⁹⁴ When the growth in the urban peripheries of industrialized society in the first decades of the twentieth century is to be explained and put into perspective, the reference is to British 'garden city' thinking. The perception of the development perspective has thus naturally shifted in the direction of planning history, and posterity has focused on the manifest zoning ideals of this line of thought, which later became dogma in the pervasive physical planning that broke through from the end of the 1930s.⁹⁵

This anticipatory perspective has shifted the focus away from the overwhelming number of inter-war single-family parcels, which, in a functional perspective, would seem to originate in an entirely different – rural – tradition. This effectively created a completely new rural/urban culture/way of life within the framework of a known physical structure, the single-family house neighbourhood, which at the time was the epitome of the Danish suburbs.

More attention to the humbler residential suburbs of the period should create a basis for a new understanding of the cultural currents of the time, which were not an extension of the architectural and educational initiatives of the time meant to ensure a mainstream aesthetic represented not least by the association 'Bedre

⁹⁴ Howard, E.: *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, 1898. This book inspired the lawyer from Randers, F.C. Boldsen, who appears later in the dissertation, because his engagement in the garden city movement and his later work for Københavns Almindelige Boligselskab merged in his little known committee work in the association 'Sammenslutningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn'.

⁹⁵ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008. pp. 65ff.

Byggeskik' (Better Building Style).⁹⁶

The second main element in the suburbs, the public housing scheme, is limited in time mainly to the second half of the 20th century, and by virtue of its genesis its historical background is well documented. The professional approaches follow three main directions: social history, architectural and planning history, and the history of the interests involved. From the point of view of social history, they are primarily part of the history of the welfare state; as regards planning and architecture, they belong to the story of modernism and functionalism; and in local history and the history the housing association, they are the latest phase of the story of 'suburban' growth and the self-image of the housing associations.



A functional approach to housebuilding would for the poorer rural immigrant relate more to tradition and resources than to architectural ideals. Hvidovre 1930's.

Forstads museet B18148

By far the greatest volume of research about this element of the 'suburb' is in the area of the social sciences and aesthetics in a contemporary perspective where the public-sector housing stock in particular is seen as a framework around the biggest

⁹⁶ 'Bedre Byggeskik' was founded in 1915 by a group of prominent Danish architects with the aim of improving the quality of small houses in Denmark.

problems facing society in terms of social and ethnic challenges. This becomes mainly a suburban problem purely by virtue of localization. This discourse has now predominated for four decades in relation to the original focus on the sector as a powerful lever for dealing with housing shortages and homelessness in the early post-war period.

WORKPLACE



The first modern industrial structures in Hvidovre arrived in the 1930's and were localized near the access roads to Copenhagen. The smithy 'Samson' moved from Valby to Hvidovre in that decade in search for newer building facilities and more space.

Forstads museet
B11822

The industrial district was the third prominent suburban structure created by the transition to an industrial society. As a rule, the environmentally detrimental activities of industry were located here in the zoning process that developed continuously from the late 1800s⁹⁷ on the basis of the negative experience from that century of the integration of industrial functions in the historic city. Suburban industrial areas have only recently attracted culture-historical interest in connection with the ongoing transformations of the original monofunctional and, gradually, non-functional areas.

Whenever the history of industrial districts has been mentioned, it is generally an

⁹⁷ In Frederiksberg, an area north of Godthåbsvej was zoned by agreement in 1889 and 1900 for detached houses, three-storey buildings and factories. *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, no. 6. 1924, p. 2.

expression of interest, not in the area as such, but in the activities of individual companies and buildings in the district. A single, older exception is Greve Museum's culture-historical studies of the industrial district 'Greve Main'.⁹⁸



'Avedøre Holme' in the municipality of Hvidovre is Denmark's latest classical grand-scale industrial area. Planned in the 1950's and created in the 1960's. It stands out as an extreme example of the late modern, large scale mono functional plans that defines the recent perception of suburban landscapes.

Forstads museet B16685

Suburban industrial areas have evolved in scale and functionality in close harmony with the needs of production and increasing community planning. They have progressed from small enclaves in the suburban landscape with room for small craft-based businesses in traditionally constructed buildings to industrial landscapes with room for even the largest enterprises with building stock in element construction, and from geographical segregation of polluting businesses to functionally integrated localization in the post-industrial suburbs.

⁹⁸ Greve Museum: *Greve Main – et kulturlandskab i forvandling*. 1990.

These areas were long non-existent in the cultural heritage context, and the constructions that have appealed to conservation interests are constructions that attract architectural or other artistic attention (e.g. the Angli factory in Herning). The Danish Agency for Culture focused on the area in the late 1990s, but there were no other results than the marking of otherwise unprotected cultural heritage assets. Budding conservation efforts here come face to face with the basic values of a neoliberal capitalist society. All things being equal, these will have opposing interests, unless the cultural heritage element can be valued positively on a financial scale.

THE RECREATIONAL AREA

The third main element in the suburbs is leisure-time landscapes: parks, beaches, forests and green areas for sports. On the one hand, they are located as a continuation of the classic city's opening-up of the green areas prior to industrialism. On the other hand, they represent a reorientation that is an extension of the ideas of modernism.

The establishment of recreation as a reality for overwhelmingly large groups of people in industrial society created a need for new elements in the city which could satisfy the needs of the modern urban dweller. In time a wide range of needs had to be met, and from the time of the first wishes for access to green areas, increasingly specialized needs and ever-greater landscape interventions arose.

In the 1920's a major work was initiated by the Municipality of Copenhagen to identify the future green interests in Greater Copenhagen.⁹⁹ In the immediate environment of Hvidovre, this spread was represented by the development of, for example, Vigerslevparken along Harrestrup Å, Valbyparken with its associated sports park, Vestskoven and Køge Bugt Strandpark.

With the Copenhagen Finger Plan, the location of recreational areas became the overall framework, and it has controlled outlays for and the development of recreational facilities throughout the post-war period.

The central position of the green element was rooted in the experience of the unfortunate mix of functions in the early industrial city and the development of the

⁹⁹ The first result was *Københavnsegnens grønne Omraader*, København 1936 and upon this report and the simultaneous Danish law on nature conservation led to the appointment of a committee in 1938 to deal with nature conservation in the Copenhagen area. Litt. Blixencrone-Møller, C. *Bidrag til naturfredningens historie*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium 1985

oldest suburbs' unplanned and omnivorous landscape seizure. Fundamentally, the late 19th-century preoccupation with the benefits of the urban population's access to nature has not been a subject of debate since then, but throughout the period the ideas about the use of the green areas have related to changing movements within physical culture.



Vigerslevparken along Hvidovres border to Copenhagen was created during WWII but planned in the early 1930's as part of the green belt along the west side of Copenhagen. It was created without any kind of engagement from the side of Hvidovre.

Poul Sverrild 2015

The (blue-)green recreational element in the Greater Copenhagen cityscape has not been the subject of large-scale comprehensive historical studies, but currently (2015) a major research project has been initiated by Hovedstadens Kulturhistoriske Arkiver (Copenhagen Cultural History Archives) to illustrate this.

It is striking that three of the four components of the modern suburb correspond to the three demands the labour movement had made in the 1900s for eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of leisure time. The fourth, the infrastructure, was a prerequisite for the other three to unfold. In this sense, the separation of functions in the suburbs mirrored the modernity of the project.



The lack of real suburbs to Copenhagen is illustrated by this section of colonel Manzas map of Zealand from 1853-1855.

<http://hkpn.gst.dk/mapviewer.aspx?type=lkaManza&id=17503>

PHASES IN THE FORMATION OF THE COPENHAGEN SUBURBS

Buildings have always existed outside the fortifications around Copenhagen, although to a varying degree, and often on a small scale and with great functional variation. As long as Copenhagen was fortified, the border between city and hinterland was in principle clear. The surrounding area closest to the city could contain a range of functions: from commons for agricultural properties in the city to sites for 'unclean' functions such as trash pits and executions; for manufacturing businesses such as bleaching ponds, inns for travellers who did not get into the city

before closing time, and entertainment facilities of the types that there was no space for in the city.

For military reasons, there was no intensive construction just outside the fortified city, but a little farther out, for example in the hilly area of Frederiksberg Bakke, 1.3 km from the western gate of the fortifications, the first Frederiksberg Castle was built around 1700. The royal castle inspired the construction of a number of country houses in the 1700s, and at the same time several entertainment functions and public attractions developed, ranging from illicit bars to actual places of entertainment. In the first half of the 19th century, this development was supplemented by a number of country houses for the bourgeoisie.¹⁰⁰

But the relationship of Frederiksberg to the fortified city of Copenhagen was interrupted by the demarcation area, which kept the land between the ramparts and a line along the city roads Pile Alle, Falconer Alle and Jagtvej clear of permanent constructions. The distance between the city and Frederiksberg limited any genuine suburban development at a time when means of transport were still undeveloped.

North of Copenhagen similar developments of the more distant hinterland in particular were in full swing as early as the 18th century. The aristocratic country-house culture developed in this direction along the coast of the Sound and in the direction of the royal possessions in northern Zealand.

Industrial development along the waterway Mølleåen to the north and in Kastrupværk on Amager to the south was in principle unrelated to the urbanization processes in Copenhagen, but during the 19th century they became involved in the development sphere generated by Copenhagen.

When the Copenhagen suburb formation in the modern sense began after 1852, a development commenced which with varying strength and great variation in form has been going on ever since. The one hundred and fifty years of suburban development can be categorized in many ways. There is obviously a chronological and geographical logic, but there is also a construction-typological and a social and cultural dimension.

In an effort initially meant to create both a broad overview of the structures of the modern formation of the Copenhagen suburbs and an impression of the complexity of suburban composition and the developmental background, I present below a tentative proposal for a generational structuring of suburb formation. The proposal

¹⁰⁰ www/stadsarkivet.frederiksberg.dk/.../rundt_paa_det_historiske_frederiksberg...

relates, of course, to chronology, but also includes building typologies and provides space for social and cultural aspects and comments on the shifting views of the suburbs in the surrounding world.

The outside world's view of the suburbs has been significant because it was not least here that the results of urbanization were appraised in relation to changing cultural ideals. Bearing in mind the social geography of the suburbs, it is natural that the majority of published statements are from groups and individuals without any profound personal knowledge of the subject they describe.

The contemporary literature does not contain much about the suburbs at this stage, partly because 'suburb', as previously mentioned, was not a well-defined concept. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the image of the social geography of the new Copenhagen suburbs quickly become established, while there was an obvious problem of defining what was suburban and what was not.

THE FIRST-GENERATION SUBURB

When the demarcation line was moved back towards the fortifications of Copenhagen in January 1852 and now ran along the row of artificial lakes known as Søerne, completely new opportunities for development opened up which could relieve the overpopulated city, which had too long had been squeezed in behind the ramparts.

The pressure from the overpopulated city was severe, the opportunities for making a profit were great, and the possibilities of regulating construction were small. The result was that Copenhagen's first real suburban housing developments were constructed without any overall plan. This meant that this phase brought several building and development typologies which were mainly located in relation to the approach roads to the city.

As an extension of the existing country houses, detached houses were now built and the first small residential areas appeared in Frederiksberg and in Copenhagen. At the same time the first large tenements, which pointed towards the ultimate dense housing of the 'bro' areas,¹⁰¹ began to be constructed in a chaotic planning process and at a fast pace.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ The Copenhagen 'brokvarterer' – 'bro' (i.e. bridge) areas – refers to Østerbro, Nørrebro and Vesterbro in the period following 1857, and Amagerbro and Islands Brygge after 1905.

¹⁰² Christensen, V. *København i Kristian den Ottendes og Frederik den Syvendes tid 1840-1857*, Copenhagen 1912, pp. 502-508.

In the area called Østre Fælled north of Copenhagen, the Danish Medical Association created 'Brumleby', the first housing project for workers in the new suburbs, the first stage of which was constructed between 1853 and 1857. Ten years later workers' homes were built in Frederiksberg by the foundation *Det Classenske Fideikommis*. The two large housing projects pointed in opposite directions as the Classenske housing was based on an early industrial form of organization, where the employer assumed responsibility for the lives of the workers outside working hours, while the Medical Association's housing related to mature industrialism's broader perception of responsibility.



'Brumleby' was a social-filanthropic housing-project provoked by the cholera-epidemics in 1853. Built in the 1850's it was the first planned suburban project in Denmark but was erected simultaneously with the first bourgeois villas in a neighbouring area less than a km. to the southeast. Thus two major building-elements in the Danish suburban landscape to come was inaugurated from the very beginning.

Poul Sverrild 2016

The construction of the Medical Association's housing marked the tentative beginning of a development in the housing sector which within 40 years forced the public sector to begin to take an active role with government loan schemes for housing.

The Medical Association's workers' homes formed the first major Copenhagen

suburb, and in the history of housing they stand as a visionary front-runner in the suburb formation of the new age. They heralded the social and functional segregation that was one of most significant contributions of the creation of suburbs to the modern city.

All the forms that were developed in the following two phases were built during this phase. The single-family house in the form of the classic ultra-conservative detached house was widespread, but the slightly smaller single-family house could also be seen.

Low blocks of flats were built along the main roads out of the city as first-generation buildings, but they often had only a short lifetime before they were replaced by higher blocks that better mimed the residential properties of the centre of the city. This type of property was also built in later stages but farther away from the city. In Copenhagen, after the Medical Association's housing, the suburban workers' accommodation in the form of terraced houses was continued in socially philanthropic initiatives such as Kartoffelrækkerne (literally 'the potato rows') in Inner Østerbro.

Functionally, homes took up most space in the early suburb, but it is important to remember that industry was present from the beginning – in Frederiksberg even before one can speak of suburban formation – although craft firms were most common.

Martin Zerlang does not see references in the literature to what I identify as the tentative beginnings, and it was also difficult for that age to grasp where the very first buildings and construction projects outside the new demarcation line were leading. The modern suburbs were still nothing more than expectations for the future, and could therefore hardly be described.

THE SECOND-GENERATION SUBURB

After the tentative 'suburb experiment' in the years immediately after the demarcation line had been moved, the second phase of the Copenhagen suburbs was represented by what was soon to become the continuous development of Copenhagen's 'bro' areas. They were largely developed as a reproduction of the inner city's physical and functional integration in the period from around 1870.

In contrast to the inner city, the physical appearance of the 'bro' areas was a modern city structure with strictly regulated streets and buildings on the outer edges, which quickly grew in height. Parallel with the development of building height in the

suburbs, densification soon occurred as gardens and courtyards were filled in with side and rear buildings, which were also known from the inner city.¹⁰³ Early on, this gave the second suburb generation the same problems in terms of integrated residential and commercial areas as characterized the inner city.

At that period, urban growth was regarded as excessive and as a force that seemed to be changing the whole of society.

*‘There are no more provinces, he said, and gestured towards the passage and the crowd. The whole thing is one big Copenhagen...’*¹⁰⁴

Herman Bang’s statement was provoked by the buildings on the former demarcation terrain between the Copenhagen fortifications and the lakes. It had been approved for development in the late 1860s, and construction exploded there in the following decades. Herman Bang was not commenting specifically on the suburb or city but on the urbanization process itself.

Martin Zerlang relies on the articles in the publication *Danmark i Skildringer og Billeder af Danske Forfattere og Kunstnere* (Denmark in descriptions and photos by Danish Writers and Artists) from 1893¹⁰⁵ in relation to this phase. Using the two chapters by the authors Carl Markman and John Jorgensen, Zerlang draws a highly critical and negative picture of the suburb. Although the suburb was not completely present as a phenomenon in itself, the centre-fixated perspective was evident from a chapter heading such as ‘From the outskirts of Copenhagen and the surrounding area’. Carl Markman also took a pessimistic view of development:

*‘And out along the coastal road Strandvejen the capital steadily and incessantly wanders with its heavy stone footsteps, like the stone guest in ‘Don Giovanni’.*¹⁰⁶

Markman wrote about the ‘workers’ suburbs’ in Amager and Utterslev Mark, but without relating to their form and function. In fact, much workers’ housing in Amager was due to local industry, not least in Kastrup, and thus primarily signalled ‘suburb’ by virtue of its physical design.

In the chapter on Copenhagen in the same work, the author Johannes Jørgensen

¹⁰³ Hansen, J.E.F. *Københavns forstadsbebyggelse i 1850’erne*, pp. 73-75

¹⁰⁴ Bang, H. *Stuk*, (Stucco) 1887, p. 85

¹⁰⁵ Galschiøt, M. *Danmark i Skildringer og Billeder af Danske Forfattere og Kunstnere*, 1893.

¹⁰⁶ As note 90

wrote about the districts of the city. Jørgensen ignored the fact that Frederiksberg was not part of Copenhagen, but treated the municipality as a neighbourhood in line with the others.



The borderland between the proper 'bro' or suburb and the open land in many ways came to define the view upon the part of suburbia that was to hold the poorer elements of the population. Søstjernevej, Hvidovre. Oil by Einer Johansen, 1929.

Forstadsmuseet Z231

Martin Zerlang chooses to follow Jørgensen when dealing with the suburbs. Jørgensen does not consider the 'bro' areas as suburbs, but regards the suburbs as being farther out of the city. In a very modern idiom, Johannes Jørgensen projected the reality of the civilizationally degenerated suburb.

'Copenhagen's shell – in Parisian the banlieue – stretches from Nørrebro to Kallebod Strand. It is a commons: vast, desolate stretches, the building sites of the future. The outer suburban streets project their tall, naked barrack gables out there, the children of the suburbs wear out the grass there, the adults of the suburbs fill every hollow with their trash; rusty old metal objects, rags and paper grow in all the ditches and lie at the bottom of all waterholes... Strange, nondescript figures, dressed in

*rags tied together, move around in these places, and at a small hut made of rusty metal sheets and old doors you see children run and play so that the dirt swirls about them. In the midst of all this: market gardens – public houses – new detached houses – and here and there an old country house, which the city is surrounding’.*¹⁰⁷

The city appears here as a growing organism that was inevitably engulfing the surrounding land in a process of destruction that was unambiguously negative, and the people who lived out there resembled the process itself.

Thus at the time, without the suburbs being well defined, there was awareness of the city’s common area outside the suburbs, the periurban zone. The lack of clarity about the perception of the ‘bro’ areas as suburban neighbourhoods was probably due to the fact that the construction of blocks of flats in this phase of the suburb mimed the city to such a degree that in the course of a few decades following the construction of the first multi-storey buildings they were no longer regarded as suburbs but as part of the city.

This fate has not befallen any later Copenhagen suburban typology, but as suburbs, some of the ‘bro’ areas helped to establish stereotypes about conditions in the outskirts of the city. The appalling housing conditions that came to characterize Nørrebro and Vesterbro in particular in the decades before the start of the 20th century were long-lasting, as evidenced in the socially-minded architect Carl Brummer’s memoirs.

*‘I shall never forget a visit to a ground floor flat in Absalonsgade (Vesterbro) in the third back yard; in the middle of the day it was dark as the grave with damp running down the walls. A mother lived here with her three children, the youngest of whom was six months old. She said: All three of them have bronchitis, and they can’t get better because it’s so damp here’.*¹⁰⁸

During this phase, large industrial businesses also grew up in the new suburbs because of their increasing need for space that could not be met in the inner city. The literary examples to which Martin Zerlang calls attention paint a bleak picture of the suburbs as an extension of the evil of the city, completely in keeping with the international mental image of the age. This was one of the images behind the development of notions of the ‘garden city’ as a solution to the problems that urban growth involved.

¹⁰⁷ As note 90

¹⁰⁸ Brummer, C., *Mennesker, Huse – og Hunde*, 1949, p. 225.

Ebenezer Howard's radical garden city vision from the 1890s found resonance in much of Western Europe, although the realization of Howard's whole concept did not become the norm; but under Danish conditions it was developed as areas with plots of land, predominantly with single-family houses.

It was characteristic of Copenhagen that the formation of the suburb in this period mainly took place as close extensions of the city. For example, there was no investment in infrastructure such as railways, which could give working people the opportunity to move far out of town, although the idea was advanced as part of the health debate in the late 1850s.¹⁰⁹



The railway passed through Hvidovre for more than 75 years before the first whistle-stop was established in 1935. In Copenhagen Commuter-trains for the working-classes were not a topic for the first two generations of suburbanites.

Forstads museet, B15963

The thinking about workers' suburbs outside the city was well advanced elsewhere in Western Europe. In London, the first low-cost commuter trains for workers were introduced in 1864 and received legislative support in the early 1880s. It was subsequently found that cheap trains for workers on the one hand helped to convert middle-class neighbourhoods into working-class districts, and on the other hand

¹⁰⁹ Hornemann, E., "En Hygieinisk Bemærkning i anledningen af Udkast til Loven angaaende Kjøbenhavns nye Vandværker", in *Hygieiniske Meddelelser og Betragtninger*, Volume 1, Copenhagen 1857

were crucial to the functioning of the suburb as the solution to the housing problems of the city.¹¹⁰

In Belgium, which had been industrialized very early on, the railways were a strategic element in urban/suburban development during the same period, but the objective here was fundamentally different from the objective in Britain. Belgium established a dense network of cheap rail-borne transport, not in order to move the working class out of the central parts of the cities, but to hinder the inward migration of workers. This was based on a political/moral agenda driven by a fundamentally anti-urban attitude based on opposition to socialism and ungodliness.¹¹¹

Although the first railway tracks for Copenhagen's catchment area to the north were opened in 1863 over Hellerup to Klampenborg and Lyngby, during this period there were no plans in Copenhagen for infrastructural investments to facilitate commuting for the working class. With their layout, the suburban trains in Copenhagen primarily served the more affluent social classes.

Closer to the city, horse-drawn carriages (from 1863 even trams) covered some of the transport needs, but the distances in Copenhagen, which had the 'bro' areas and Frederiksberg as suburbs, could be covered on foot. In the 1880s, there were examples of workers walking 15 to 20 kilometres daily each way between home and work.¹¹²

Public transport and commuting only became an important topic after the turn of the century in connection with the major parcelling-out of sites for holiday homes, summerhouses and allotments in the years leading up to the First World War.

THE THIRD-GENERATION SUBURB

The third stage, from the latter part of the 19th century, was characterized by an incipient new separation of functions. On one hand, larger monofunctional neighbourhoods with single-family houses were developed, north of the city in

¹¹⁰ Wohl, A.S. *The Eternal Slum, Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London*, 1977, pp. 287-88.

¹¹¹ Voets, J., Rynck, F. De, 'Contextualising City-regional Issues, Strategies and their Use: the Flemish Story', *Local Government Studies*, 34:4, p. 264.

¹¹² Willerslev, R. *Danmarks største arbejdsplads*, 1986, p. 45.

particular, supplemented a little later by numerous building societies that were formed in the wake of the Loan Act of 1898.¹¹³

On the other hand, this phase was characterized by an emerging zoning practice which, after the incorporation of the outer districts of the municipality of Copenhagen, was reflected in the large-scale Copenhagen planning competition for the incorporated districts after 1908-09. But already in the years immediately before Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave were incorporated in Copenhagen, a large early industrial area was created around Gammel Køge Landevej south of Vigerslev Allé and east of the goods train lines.¹¹⁴

While the new structures were visible and strikingly close to the city, more chaotic development continued constantly on the edges of the new suburbs, which to contemporaries seemed to spread interminably.

The impact of the First World War was just as significant for suburban development as it was for Danish society in general. In the inter-war period, the severe housing shortage, caused by the ongoing surplus of births in the city, the lack of investments in construction and continued inflows from agriculture, found a physical solution in blocks of flats and neighbourhoods with single-family houses on the outskirts of the city at the same time as new commercial areas were laid out in the former periphery.

In this phase ‘garden cities’ spread almost without restraint along the whole circle around Copenhagen. This development often had the character of growth-ring formation in the city. From Tårnby in the south, over Hvidovre, Rødovre, Herlev, Gladsaxe and Gentofte, agricultural land was parcelled out and sold for summer use with dreams of later year-round settlement.

This was supplemented by more scattered land development activity farther from the city, supported by a sporadically improved infrastructure both north and west of the city. For example, the large farm ‘Ragnesminde’ on 300 acres of land in Glostrup was parcelled out in 1920.

¹¹³ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008, p 115

¹¹⁴ *Industrisamfundets kulturarv – Regional indberetning af industriminder i Københavnsregionen i henhold til Kulturarvsstyrelsens brev j. nr. 2003-300-0001 i forbindelse med satsningsområdet ‘Industrisamfundets Kulturarv’*, pp. 176-77. <http://www.kulturstyrelsen.dk/fileadmin/imported/files/www.kulturarv.dk/kulturarv/industrisamfundet/kort/hovedstad.pdf>

‘Up to now the trend has taken other directions, especially to the north, and one has become familiar with names like Brønshøj, Søborg, Hellerup, Charlottenlund, whereas the name Glostrup is rarely heard. This is why people invariably have the feeling, when it is occasionally mentioned, that it is something that is far away’.

One of the selling points for the new subdivision far away (13 km from Copenhagen City Hall Square), was the supposedly 12 daily trains from Glostrup Station to Copenhagen between the hours of 5:28 in the morning and 11:17 in the evening. The sales literature did not fail to point out that it was possible to travel faster from the City Hall Square in Copenhagen to Glostrup than to Brønshøj or Søborg.¹¹⁵ The latter two being only between five and ten kilometres from the city centre.



In the case of Hvidovre, it can be seen that the bike shops / repairers, were among the earliest businesses to appear around the WW1, when year-round habitation began to increase together with the recreational traffic along Gl. Køge Landevej. Photo 1920.

Forstadmuseet B8542

The housing shortage at that time and later – together with the overall speed of development – helped to firmly establish the city’s social geography. This was not least because of the growth in the scale of districts with single-family houses and

¹¹⁵ Petersen, J.A., *Vesterled, 1920-1970, kulturhistorisk skildring omkring en haveby*. Grundejerforeningen Vesterled 1970, p. 11.

blocks of flats – the monofunctional and monocultural areas were larger. Incipient community planning came to support this development through physical planning. The single-family-home suburbs of the inter-war years have often been regarded as an upper- and middle-class phenomenon, but it was not only in Denmark that they also appealed to the working class; this was also the case in Norway.¹¹⁶

When the safety-bike, which was suitable for industrial production, was developed in the 1870s, and the air-filled inner tube came in the following decade, the foundation was laid for making large new tracts of land available to commuters. The bike offered the possibility of living in Hvidovre, Rødovre, Tårnby, Herlev and Gladsaxe and taking a job at the big places of work in central Copenhagen, such as the Burmeister & Wain shipyard and the central workshops of the state railways DSB. Although there are no studies of the prevalence of the bike among the working class in this period, production figures indicate that the bike was widespread soon after 1900.¹¹⁷

The suburbs of the inter-war years increased the area of the city, which now comprised the municipalities of Copenhagen, Frederiksberg and Gentofte. The infrastructure was developed for the benefit of commuters in this period, with a dense network of routes in the city. With a few exceptions, the city's trams and buses only travelled to the municipal boundary, where they were supplemented with bus routes in the surrounding municipalities organized in other bus companies. The first bus service in Hvidovre came in 1920.¹¹⁸

In the 1930s the local railway arrived in the form of commuter trains thanks to electrification. However, it was also mainly the city and the northern suburbs that were served. Although bus services made it possible to increase the commuting distance, it would not be unfair to describe the inter-war suburbs as bicycle suburbs.

The political, aesthetic and philosophical trends of the inter-war period were characterized by a radicalism that was to contribute to the social segregation of the city, not least because of the new architecture which, with its planning requirements, became so central to modernism.

¹¹⁶ Myhre, J.E. "Striden om den gode byen", in Helle, K. et al., *Norsk byhistorie*, Oslo 2006, p. 374.

¹¹⁷ Bendtsen, L. 'Cykling, markedsføring og fartkonsum i København' (Cycling, marketing and speed consumption) in *Den jyske Historiker*, no. 108 June 2005, p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Thinggaard, K. *Hvidovre Rutebiler*, Sporvejshistorisk Selskab 1991.



Ryparken and Lundevænget, Copenhagen, 1932-35. This social housing complex is among the earliest major Danish dwelling projects with consequent sun-orientation. Architects: Kooperativ Arkitekter (Povl Baumann, Edvard Heiberg, Karl Larsen og Frederik Wagner).

Poul Sverrild, 2016

The focus in Danish architectural history is on the rise of Danish functionalism in this period. This is because it turned out to point so much forward to post-war urban and social development, although the picture was a different one when assessed by contemporaries. Between the wars, functionalism was for the few and the avant-garde.

When the author Hans Scherfig featured modern psychoanalysis in a residential district ('Seksualparken'), in a novel,¹¹⁹ it took place in the city's most modern large-scale residential housing estate, Ryparken from 1932-33, on the northern outskirts of Copenhagen. The architecture of Ryparken broke with the old street orientation of the dwelling, replacing it with solar orientation, the land use ratio was low, and the location of the blocks in the middle of open green lawns referred to the key message of modernism concerning the city-dweller's direct access to nature.

While Martin Zerlang also stresses the critical approach to the suburbs in the literature of the inter-war and immediately post-war period, he emphasizes Poul Henningsen's pleasure at the garden city and Hans Scherfig as an advocate of the

¹¹⁹ As note 90

new, modern suburbs.¹²⁰

The fact that Ryparken's moderate form of modernism could arouse such strong feelings at the time makes it easier to understand how powerful the more radical modernism expressed in architecture might seem.

'However, this style [pure functionalism] was not suited for broader sections of the population, first and foremost because it was too theoretical and too bold at one and the same time. To ordinary people it appeared strange, cold, and almost inhuman'.¹²¹

THE FOURTH-GENERATION SUBURB

The post-war suburb was developed in step with rapidly-growing community planning and management. From the point of view of form, the characteristic new elements were terraced and park housing together with terrace houses. The international architecture and planning dogmas of modernism, which had already found expression before the war in Ryparken, for example, developed their own Danish form in an infinite series of mainly non-profit building projects. Generous aid from the state facilitated a series of experiments in this area of housing. The 1950s saw experimentation in many directions at once – from skyscrapers to dense-low buildings and from individual to collective living.

The ever-popular single-family house continued its onward march supported by government loan schemes. Contemporary government support for the non-profit sector contributed to the creation of a new bipolar housing landscape in the suburbs, which were now characterized by the two ways of life that developed around the owner-occupier home in a garden, and the council home, which was most frequently in a block of flats in a green landscape.

Public-sector institutions were built at an explosive rate in this period and were not suburb-specific. However, because the development of the welfare state coincided with very significant growth in the suburbs, the public Danish institutional complex became very visible here in the shape of administration buildings, teaching institutions, buildings for recreation and sports, buildings where children and the elderly were cared for, and hospitals. The welfare institutions often arrived in the suburbs together with the surrounding built-up landscapes, thus giving an overall look to the suburbs that harmonized with the ideals of the time.

¹²⁰ Scherfig, H. *Idealister*, Gyldendal 1945.

¹²¹ Bøggild-Andersen, H.O., Wolf, E.C.J. *Fra fortids hytte til nutids hjem*, 1950, p. 235.

It is only from the middle of the 1960s that Martin Zerlang really finds voices from the suburbs in Danish fiction.

*'The picture only begins to turn with Klaus Rifbjerg's 'Amagerdigte' [a collection of poems] from 1965: the suburbs begin to be interpreted as a source of inspiration and not just as a forecourt to Hell. Dan Turell writes about Vangede, Bjarne Reuter writes about Brønshøj, Peter Poulsen writes about Vanløse, Anders Bodelsen introduces 'Lyngbyvej realism' and writes about Nærum, Bent William Rasmussen writes about Virum, and Hans Jørgen Nielsen writes about Amager and Sundbyerne.'*¹²²

The sudden visibility of the suburbs in literature can fundamentally be explained by their increasing age. The earliest and oldest of the suburban authors mentioned, Klaus Rifbjerg (born 1930), had grown up in Ingolfs Allé in Amager in a small residential area constructed just before the First World War, and was thus a native suburban-dweller.

This was the first time that an author with full citizenship could write about his own suburb – his native soil. This paved the way for what was to become a large number of 'suburban' authors, who could of course use their personal suburban stories as literary capital.

Some of the suburban authors in Martin Zerlang's article are conspicuous by their absence, and a part of the suburban landscape is likewise notably absent. It can hardly be a coincidence that Martin Zerlang only mentions Anders Bodelsen for his connection to places north of Copenhagen, when he is actually one of the few who spotted the then most recent suburbs along Køge Bugt, as did author Michael Buchwald, who wrote about the totally planned element construction from the 1970s. The two authors also beautifully depict the abrupt shift in the perception of the suburbs – from the optimism of the fifties and the early sixties to the pessimism of the seventies.

*'I wanted to get as far away as possible from the neighbourhoods of my childhood. Now that I'm finally leaving home after a quarter of a century. Then I looked at this and was totally fascinated. Not just a new house, but a completely new town, a whole series of new towns!'*¹²³

¹²² As note 90

¹²³ Bodelsen, A. *De gode tider*, Gyldendal 1977, p. 66.

In 1977, when the great paradigm shift in the perception of the industrially-built suburb had occurred, Anders Bodelsen captured the enthusiasm of the first decades after 1945, and the remark quoted was made in 1962, when the act on the new towns along Køge Bay was adopted in Parliament. The time was full of enthusiasm about the fact that new materials, new standards, new forms of production and new scales could create a dwelling-standard for ordinary Danes which had been unthinkable a few years earlier.



Kindergardens and day nurseries were built as integrated parts in the social housing projects. 'Sognegården' in Hvidovre was built in 1952 as an integrated part of a huge social housing project by 'Lejerbo' built between 1947 and 1956.

Forstadsmuseet, B4365

Nor did Martin Zerlang find room for the author from Avedøre, F.P. Jac,¹²⁴ in spite of his superb novel of reminiscences from Avedøre, west of Copenhagen, where he skilfully depicts the individualism underlying the massive movement of the population at large towards their own houses in this period.

Towards the end of this phase, the functionally controlled industrialization of building reached its peak and minimized the housing shortage on the basis of a collective understanding that the shortage should be remedied by increasing the quantity of housing. Technologically controlled buildings were systematically

¹²⁴ Jac. F.C. *Fortælleren blev senere sig selv*, Borgen 1998.

worked with, and a few years later this became crucial to the negative narratives of the suburbs.

Even though industrialization ensured an unprecedentedly high standard of housing in terms of the parameters of the period regarding light, air and modern installations, and ever larger homes were built for workers, the professionals could nevertheless see problems:

*‘What we are building today (1966), is our modest contribution to the housing problem of the 1980s and 1990s and the first half of the next century’.*¹²⁵

This epoch in the history of the suburb began with optimism and delight at the dawning welfare state’s housing for people who were not used to so much, as expressed in the notorious pop song about the suburb of Herlev.

*Up the stairs in Herlev,
Four rooms, two kids, my husband and I,
A kitchen all electric
That’s nice.*¹²⁶

The song came out in 1966, but by then its safe world of mainly secure, brick-based park housing had long been overtaken by the element construction of the early 1960s, with buildings laid out in rational crane way patterns..

With a corresponding time warp in relation to the period of construction, in 1980 the rock song *Friheden Station* (Freedom Station) sharply criticized the public housing of the next period.

*They’ve made their plans and line by line designed,
the biggest castles in the air you can imagine.
Neatly in a row they lie
like beads on a string.
Everything between heaven and earth
has been gathered here.
But here at Freedom Station,
freedom is just an illusion.
Because here, as far as you can see,
all you can see is coercion.*

...

¹²⁵ Brochmann, O., Arctander, P. *Boligdialog*, 1966, p. 71.

¹²⁶ Text: Erik Deigaard. Recorded by Lise Reinau in 1965.

*They've made their plans and line by line designed
the biggest prison camps you can imagine.*¹²⁷

While the increasingly stringently planned suburb development was taking place during this phase, the single-family house went from strength to strength, stimulated by the same industrial development that created the big blocks of public housing.



The social housing plan 'Friheden' - named after the farm that owned the lands - was built from 1961. The housing plan held 1.170 apartments and is an example of the consequences of the Danish desire to solve the housing shortage by standardization, industrialization and prefabrication. This generation of social housing plans building on crane-lane logics created seemingly endless block landscapes which in turn caused the wish to organize future housing projects in townships.

Forstadsmuseet, 1993

From the second half of the 1950s, the tract house provided a new group of house-hunters who had fewer financial resources with access to a house and garden at a time when economic growth in general seemed unlimited and family incomes rose explosively because of the growing liberation of women from the home. There was a great focus during this phase on expanding the suburban train network, which, in accordance with the ideas in the 'Finger Plan', was to be the core of the radial city structure with which regional planning of the post-war years operated. But commuter-oriented infrastructure gained a new dimension in this period through the private car which, with growing affluence and an improved road network, suddenly opened the way for living at a distance from work.

¹²⁷ Text: Michael Falch/Malurt. Recorded 1980.

This meant that the opportunity arose during the period for a completely new type of urban growth in the Copenhagen area outside the suburbs in the shape of ‘horsey suburban landscapes’, where internationally we speak of zones with designations such as ‘edge-city’ or ‘urban fringe’. They are, however, also landscapes where periurban processes came into play later in relation to the otherwise stringent planning that controlled landscape development around greater Copenhagen from the 1960s.

THE FIFTH-GENERATION SUBURB

The great paradigm shift in the Danish suburbs started up in the wake of 1968. There was growing criticism of the monotony in the endless, industrially-generated urban landscapes, both in the privately owned single-family home suburbs and in the public-housing suburbs.



The planned Køge Bugt towns built during the 1970's form a string of pearls along the coast. With concrete facades and prefab slate constructed forms they appear as the very symbol of modernistic scandinavian housing-welfare. In the bottom Avedøre Stationsby, in the middle Brøndby Strand and in the distance Ishøj.

Poul Sverrild, 2014

Alongside the development of new forms of housing that could accommodate the ideas of the time about a return to community, about architecture that did not merely

pay homage to industrialization, the last generation of functionally-planned industrialized suburban housing, the totally planned suburb in the form of the imagined city, continued to be rolled out.

The planned suburban town was the logical final stage of the suburban development that had started more than a century before with construction of housing for the less well off on Østre Fælled. The scale had grown, the equipment had been improved in every way and the pre-construction production processes had finally been fully rolled out. The result was the interminable unstructured suburban landscape that Ebenezer Howard had already criticized in the London of the 1890s.

At the end of the 1960s, the answer to the challenge of the suburbs was to make use of building technology to construct a city in the suburbs. Taking a point of departure in the architect Kevin Lynch's studies of 'the readable city',¹²⁸ it was thought possible to construct urban structures in the suburbs.

This resulted in the large social housing blocks which were placed in the suburban landscape from the end of the 1960s up to 1980. With the development of the suburban towns in Køge Bugt, utilizing assembly and element technology, units with up to 3,000 homes were created in imagined urban structures. Even then these structures were experienced as alienating and far from the ideal of a town:

*You who live here are
a small and almost invisible person
who disappears between the blocks.
You and all the others are alike.
You're the same size and have the same needs.
Your needs will be fulfilled by US,
who are the STATE.
WE are big, monumental, untouchable and unmentionable.
We give you what we think you should have
and in return demand that you see and respect our greatness,
in our blank facades, our height and straight lines'*¹²⁹

The big public suburban towns were to create the provisional culmination of the role of the suburb as a catalyst for social and ethnic segregation in the urban landscape.

With the large-scale plans of the social housing sector as the focal point, everything that had previously been positively charged was now severely criticized. The

¹²⁸ Lynch, K. *The Image of the City*, 1960.

¹²⁹ Buchwald, M. *Blokland*, Arena, Copenhagen 1975, p. 317. Avedøre Stationsby is the scene of the novel.

formerly so desirable high standard of industrial housing now became oppressive precisely because of the standardization that had been the precondition for building it.

'Newcomers would only discover that the rooms imposed a difficult way of living on their occupants when they had lived in them'.¹³⁰

Over the decades that followed, the large-scale housing plans came to influence conceptions of 'the suburbs'. At the same time, however, single-family houses also continued to be built during this phase, and they unambiguously remain the form of suburban housing that has functioned, fundamentally unchanged, almost from the beginning to the culmination of this period in Danish history, during which the suburbs have unquestionably been at the centre of the urbanization process.

This phase of the suburbs has not only left us with established, large landscape surfaces, but also with a mental image of the welfare suburb in the shape of concrete blocks of social housing.

'Taking the suburban train to Høje Taastrup prolongs the agony,' says Johan, as we are passing the Carlsberg sign just before Enghave Station. 'It only gets worse after Valby. Then come Hvidovre and Rødovre and all the other stations west of Copenhagen. The regional train only stops in Valby. It isn't nearly as excruciating as having to be dragged through all that concrete and symmetry that characterizes social-democratic architecture'.¹³¹

When the general crisis in society that followed from the end of the 1970s ebbed out during the 1990s, urban developmental energy had moved from the suburbs, and in the following decades urban development primarily took place in the large areas left behind after the deindustrialization of the industrial and harbour areas of the city. Construction continued in the suburbs, of course, but had been scaled down.

In parallel with the rolling-out of the last major plans in the 1970s, the results of the showdown with rational, uncossmeticized industrial serial production of housing became evident.

Dense-low projects, facade variations, architectural and planning references to constructed village structures and surfaces distanced from the concrete-element look

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 11.

¹³¹ Aburas, L. *Føtexsøen*, 2009, p. 46

became dominant among the new proposals of architects and planners for suburban building after the failure of the major plans.¹³²

And alongside this, the building of single-family housing continued undaunted with its constant proposals for suburban life with ever-larger houses and ever more facade possibilities for buyers with stylistic references to among other places Sweden, the USA and a number of period styles.

SUBURBS OF THE FUTURE

Just as little as the suburb as a general phenomenon entered history along with industrialization, it naturally exits history as little with the transition to the series of post-industrial phases of society. First and foremost because the old suburban landscape is still here in its many versions, but also because all the existing versions develop over time in keeping with changing ideals.

What might in many ways look like the culmination/conclusion of the development of the Copenhagen suburb is in fact an expression of the transition to a new phase for both city and suburb.

At present two new large-scale Copenhagen suburban projects can be dimly seen on the horizon – at Hedehusene 20 km west of Copenhagen and at Vinge 30 km north west of Copenhagen; but these projects have been in the pipeline for a long time and are only developing slowly. An urban atmosphere is accentuated in both places side by side with the classic suburban virtues: fresh air and access to nature.

Fundamentally, both projects are a continuation on the solid basis of post-war suburban development: planning, zoning and industrialized production. But it is clear that lessons have been learned from the past, because neither of the projects is marketed mainly as what it is: a suburb.

The prospectus for Vinge markets the new suburb not just as a town, but as '*the town of the future*'. The qualities of the town are presented in the prioritized order of the logic of the market: future, sustainability, nature, infrastructure, housing diversity. The word suburb does not appear. On the other hand it does appear in the

¹³² The story of the architectural competition from the Danish Institute for Construction Research in 1971, which ushered in the famous dense/low movement, is well known. The competition was won by the drawing office Vandkunsten, which in the second half of the 1970s built the winning project at Herfølge. But the story of the Danish interpretation of dense/low is longer than normally described. See appendix.

marketing by the municipality of Frederikssund:

*‘Vinge is close to Copenhagen, but the town is far from being a traditional suburb. Vinge will be a town where one can feel the landscape. For this reason, the overall plan creates a dense town with many different urban and landscape spaces’.*¹³³

The same backdrop for the understanding of the suburb is communicated in connection with the suburb of the future at Hedehusene. This is not simply to be a ‘traditional suburb’; it is to be a ‘funky suburb’! The attitude to the older suburbs is clearly expressed here:

*‘Suburbs have the reputation of being areas full of dreary concrete blocks or flat single-family houses’.*¹³⁴

In contrast to the clichéd picture of the suburb in which the building material concrete, block construction and the lifestyle and settlement type the single-family home are dominant, the project makes the offer that professionals will create a ‘funky and forward-looking’ suburb here. It is thought-provoking that the present so much mimes the past in its firm conviction that we now have the solution that reaches out into the future.

Hedehusene’s suburban project, NærHeden, formulates one crucial insight that is based on the experience of the twentieth century with the planning of the suburb – and thus the experience of the difficulties of creating urbanity.

*‘We do not plan the town in detail, for no one knows how the Danes will live in 10-15 years’.*¹³⁵

In the light of a time-horizon of just 10-15 years it is tempting to offer a firm answer to the above open question: the single-family home! But the project is a result not least of Fonden Realdania’s many years of concentrating on new development of the ‘familiar’ suburb, so of course one cannot propose more of what is already familiar.

The suburban projects of the future seem to be a continuation of the long history of the development of the Danish suburb, where each new suburban generation has tried to learn from the previous generation, at the same time striving to adapt to the changing ideas concerning ways of life. It is fascinating that the articulation of the suburbs in the final part of the last century created such negative images that the

¹³³ Appendix 2.

¹³⁴ Advertising supplement to the newspaper *Politiken*, May 2015. Appendix 3.

¹³⁵ *Nærheden – fremtidens forstad*, Udviklingsplan november 2015, NærHeden P/S, p. 3.

new projects have to say what they will not be: traditional suburbs.

In 2015 the traditional suburbs are largely perceived as the industrially-established structures of the post-war period, combined with the unstructured parcel landscapes of the same age. Where then do the suburbs from the previous 100 years belong?

The oldest suburbs, the 'bro' areas, became city, but the later generations of suburbs are still in 'the suburbs', which must be the 'untraditional suburbs' in the sense of the above-mentioned marketing terminology.

Marketing the suburb of the future now as 'town' reveals not only the current perception of the suburbs but also the perception of the town. In the Vinge project, the 'town' element is primarily represented by density and the emphasis on variation in the spaces. The other characteristics of the actual city are not mentioned, so the concept of city/town emerges here mostly as something that is 'not suburb'. This could be said to be the ultimate victory of the suburb – the town is defined as the opposite of the suburb!

In many places, the Copenhagen suburb now has a depth in time that in itself legitimizes an historical approach. In addition, the suburbs have since grown out of their clear-cut relationship with the city and have become agents in a multipolar urban landscape that itself generates new directions and functions.

Nevertheless, the suburbs are still suburbs. Current suburban agendas of restoration, recycling, urban renewal, plans for the town centre etc. tell us something about suburbs that have lost one of their original core meanings – the etymologically defined dependence on the old city – they are now reinventing themselves by dissociating themselves from their history.

The suburbs are still suburbs with respect to many functions, and the most recent suburb's need to distance itself from the '*traditional suburb*' may be interpreted as yet another development of the suburbs' almost infinite range of variation within the common space that the suburbs have created around the cities.

The second domain in which to seek the future of the suburb is the city. The functional conversion of the industrial and harbour areas of the central part of the city is in many ways similar to the suburban story. As mentioned in the introduction, for a number of years now Copenhagen has experienced the introduction of forms of buildings and habitations that used to belong to the suburbs: terrace houses, blocks of flats with no street orientation, the introduction of green utilitarian elements and the privatization of spaces that were public in the old city.

The director of the Danish Architecture Centre, Kent Martinussen, announced in 2012: ‘*So. Sorry: The suburb is history*’.¹³⁶

This was based on an understanding of the suburbs that did not take into account that the suburb of the future does not have to be located outside the city. Nor is it improbable that precisely the suburb’s invasion of the city points in the direction of a new urban fusion where city and suburb are part of a mutual process of change on the way towards a new city.



The first danish suburban housing structure was erected in the 1850's at a distance of 4 km from the later Town Hall Square in Copenhagen. A few years after the earliest Danish row-houses were built about 3 km from the Town Hall Square as another suburban project and 150 years later basically the same suburban house-types are built at a distance of only 3,5 km - now referred to as urban houses. 'Havneviggen' Copenhagen, on the island of Amager.

Poul Sverrild, 2016

¹³⁶ Weirup, T. *Forstadsland*, Moellerforlag 2012, p. 182.

CONCLUSION

The diverse and changeable suburb was there from the very beginning, but both diversity and changeability have been blurred by the clichés that have been created not least by the educated and publicly communicating classes with a personal starting point in narrow sectors of the social landscape of the suburbs and in the old city.

In the course of the 20th century, the expectations that the suburbs would become city in the process of aging, as part of an almost mechanical process, proved to be incorrect. Even though the suburbs can be categorized and grouped in terms of chronology, types of building, ownership and social composition, they do not slavishly follow predictable directions for their development as a group.

What is strange is not that the suburbs do not live up to prejudices about uniformity and predictability, but that there has not been more focus on their individuality and distinctive character. Had this been the approach, we would now have concentrated on systematizing the chronology, types of building, ownership and social composition of the suburbs with a view to identifying the factors that unite them in their heterogeneity.

The fascination with the suburb and the strong interest in identifying common overall mechanisms and forms is inevitable in the light of the constant global growth of the suburbs since industrialization. Jauhiainen's illustrative table of the global suburban chronology, settlement typology and social classes at the same time shows the strength and weakness of the synthesis.

It creates a background for the identification of local divergences and convergences, while with its very existence it also determines a focus on elements that are not necessarily always those central to the understanding of the developmental history of the individual suburb or its function for the town.

My own proposal for an understanding of the chronology, structure and settlement of the Copenhagen suburban landscape and the changing external perceptions of it was necessary in terms of placing the history of Hvidovre's development in the regional context. It makes no claim to be exhaustive, since – essentially – it does not encompass all the locally angled experiences and value judgements that may contribute to the understanding of the individual suburban development.

The contribution of fiction to the understanding of the outside world's view of the suburb is central, both because it clarifies when the suburb has relevance and because

it so clearly verbalizes what is observed. It is instructive that the suburb's own literary voice came as late as it did – and that its language fundamentally takes its cue from the views of the outside world, as seen most recently in the latest novels about life in the Greater Copenhagen planned projects from the 1970s.¹³⁷

The reproduction by literature of the centre-periphery approach to the suburb has in this respect led to a situation where, even with the periphery-centre approach, the suburb is presented in accordance with the existing myths which, with the power of contemporary literature, are being staged as reality.

The sequence of the rise of the individual suburban elements and their continued presence in the suburban landscapes, in parallel with the advent of new elements, is important to the understanding of the function of the suburbs.

As an example, the block housing of the fifties and sixties did not disappear because the focus shifted to the new totally planned concrete projects. But the block housing imperceptibly changed its role when the new projects arrived on the scene, just as the inter-war period's single-family-home neighbourhoods changed in attraction value and social function when the Government-loan neighbourhoods were built.

But the chronological consequences for the individual suburban project elements have in general remained uninvestigated because interest has been concentrated on the projects that were being created at the time. As mentioned, the suburb does not automatically become a town as it ages; but it imperceptibly becomes a different suburb.

The proposals of this chapter are presumably not sufficiently radically emancipated from the established explanatory framework, which is based on architecture and planning as well as an understanding of urbanization with its point of departure in the city. But it is a step on the way towards a renewal of the discussion of the kind of history of the suburb – and about the suburbs – that can be written. First and foremost it leaves us with the question of what happens to the aging suburbs.

¹³⁷ Mahmoud, A. *Sort land – fortællinger fra ghettoen*, 2015 and Pape, M. *Planen*, 2015.



The County of Copenhagen. The map confirms the picture of the void south-west of Copenhagen as compared with the areas to the north. The detailed illustration of the royal hunting-grounds reflects the interests of the opinion-makers of the time which have influenced the attitudes since.

Section of 'Videnskabernes Selskabs Kort', København's Amt 1766, Forstads-museet

7 HVIDOVRE – A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS LONG HISTORY

‘The area immediately west of Copenhagen is curiously lacking in history.’¹³⁸

This chapter introduces the scarcely known village west of Copenhagen that is the geographical framework for the later suburb Hvidovre. The introduction does not aim to fill the historical void as the lacking history of Hvidovre is a crucial part of the local identity and brand. Chronologically the chapter begins in prehistoric times with the scarce archeological finds and immovable relics and ends with the rural reforms that kickstarted the process changing the traditional rural culture into a periurban zone.

The relevance of some of the historical details in this chapter may seem farfetched in relation to the overall theme, but they serve to illustrate the long-term nature of the relationship between the village and its surroundings. Not surprisingly the village generally stands out as the passive part in the historical processes and the ordinariness of the village-history is part of the message.

This comment above appeared in print on the threshold of the period when ‘Vestegnen’ – the area to the west of Copenhagen – was urbanized as part of the creation of the Greater Copenhagen welfare city. The ostensible lack of history of Copenhagen’s western surroundings was succeeded by suburban development, the most recent period of which has made history, but on the other hand has given the area a one-dimensional profiling that overshadows many underlying stories.

The perception of the area to the west of Copenhagen as a place without history, as exemplified in this quote, may be read as an urban-historical parallel to the Eurocentric view of other continents in former times. Now, as the city of Copenhagen finally reached the ‘white patches’ in the close western hinterland, it was discovered how poorly elucidated they were – by implication, probably not without reason. The areas west of Copenhagen only began to exist when the city began to shed its light on them.

It was obviously correct that not much had been written about the area, so there were in fact no known sources to refer to. Nevertheless, it is equally obvious that

¹³⁸ Bidstrup, K.: *Byer i vest*, 1963, p 1. This statement by Knud Bistrup, a journalist and architectural writer, is a good example of the experience of outsiders when the object was knowledge of the history of this part of the surroundings of Copenhagen.

the statement primarily reveals the author's personal affiliation with other parts of the geography of the urban landscape, and presumably his classic inward-to-outward view of the city's environs. In this sense, the author is a fine representative of the cultural reality that had formed the basis of his remark.

For example, it is quite right that 'the history of Hvidovre' had never been written, so a writer coming from the outside could not see any history. Since the history of Hvidovre prior to suburban development, as mentioned earlier, did not form part of the general historical literature about the capital and its surroundings either, it is both appropriate and necessary in this context to outline the historical overview which can give 'the place' Hvidovre something of the content and character that can flesh out the dissertation's studies and discussions.

The need to unfold this history results from the fact that 'the place' may in its own right play a part in determining some of the factors fundamental to the capacity of the inhabitants to develop with the changes in time, technology and culture. These factors are, for example, the distance to the next market town, location in relation to water, soil quality, ownership, relations with local, regional and national infrastructure, trade and commerce, individual events, etc.

The special character of the locality of Hvidovre has developed in an asymmetrical interaction between place and surroundings. It has always been the surrounding world that has defined Hvidovre, first by omitting Hvidovre and the rest of the western environs from the historical narrative because of cultural preferences, and



Hvidovre's Baptismal document from 1186 is preserved at the National Archives.

Forstadsmuseet B16666

then by spreading the story of the area's 'non-history'.

The missing narrative and the images thus created of the place's 'non-history' established an external understanding of place which later returned and influenced the local identity by pointing out its lack of history.

Less than fifty years later than the introductory quote, and at a point in time when Hvidovre had long come out of its periurban phase and had been functioning as a welfare suburb for decades, the director of the Danish Agency for Culture, Steen Hvass, was able to illustrate that the fundamental perception of the area as lacking in history continued to prevail.

In the Agency's press release, issued when Hvidovre was designated one of the country's four cultural heritage municipalities, Steen Hvass found it necessary to elaborate on the background for the choice of a suburban municipality from the western environs of Copenhagen. This was in acknowledgement of the fact that Hvidovre did not immediately seem a natural choice on the basis of existing knowledge of – or notions about – cultural heritage.

'As can be seen, a municipality has also been selected that has not been particularly favoured with respect to cultural heritage'.¹³⁹

As a comment to this Hvidovres chairman of the Committee of Culture (and mayor to come) Milton Graff Petersen stated that the closest one came to a cathedral here was probably the new underground overflow reservoir at Kalveboderne.¹⁴⁰

The absent cultural heritage to which Steen Hvass referred in the press release, is in fact an absence of material cultural heritage – and one of the reasons for this absence is precisely the invisibility that has historically cloaked the closest western environs of Copenhagen.

PREHISTORY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

As with the villages past and present that have shared a municipality and municipal with Hvidovre – Solbjerg, Frederiksberg, Valby, Vigerslev and Avedøre – the history of the village of Hvidovre stretches back into prehistory. However, like a

¹³⁹ Underbjerg, A.M. *Oplevelsesøkonomi og revitalisering af det nationale i dansk kulturpolitik i dag*, dissertation, the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Section for Modern Culture and Cultural Dissemination,, Copenhagen University 2006, p. 62.

¹⁴⁰ Comment from Milton Graff Pedersen to the author at the time of designation.

number of other village communities around Copenhagen it entered history in a succession of Papal Bulls preserved from the 12th and 13th centuries. The objective of the Papal Bulls was to affirm that the villages belonged to the See of Roskilde, which had received them as a gift from the Danish king.

The oldest preserved Papal Bull where Hvidovre is named is from 1186, and a document from 1246 mentions the municipality of Hvidovre's second village, Avedøre, for the first time. With this the villages may be said to have entered history.¹⁴¹ It is certain that the villages are older than these 'founding' documents, but their origin has not been further dated, for example by archaeological excavations.



Copy of the the Frydenhøj Sword. The original is being kept at the Danish National Museum.

Poul Sverrild, 2016

The location of Hvidovre Church in the extreme northwestern corner and at the highest point does suggest, however, that the village had been established before the arrival of Christianity.¹⁴²

As is the case with most localities in Denmark, Hvidovre and Avedøre too entered history by virtue of the actions of the world around them and not through local activity or in their own right. The villages had no option: they were a gift from the country's secular ruler to the ruling religious institution of the country. Prior to this, there was a local prehistory with the Ærtebølle settlement site at the coast towards Kalveboderne and Køge Bay; there were Bronze Age mounds, burial sites from the

¹⁴¹ Nordlund, H.O. *Vejnavne i Hvidovre Kommune*, 1982, p. 7

¹⁴² Hastrup, F. *Danske landsbytyper*, 1964, p. 202

Iron Age and settlements from the Viking period.¹⁴³ There are only two Bronze Age burial mounds left in the landscape now, but their message has been supplemented by a handful of documented archaeological finds that have turned up during excavations in what is now a fully developed municipality.

That far more finds, prehistoric as well as more recent, have been made in the soil of the residential areas of Hvidovre and Avedøre is evident from oral accounts of such finds, which have never left the properties, but stand on shelves in people's homes. From preserved toponymic material, it appears that more Bronze Age burial mounds once existed, but have now disappeared.

The position in the terrain of the village of Hvidovre in particular preserves information about conditions of life in the Viking Age and Early Post-Viking Middle Ages. The village was situated close to a small river, Harrestrup Å, but it was protected from flooding by a rise in the terrain between village and river. It was located approximately three kilometres from the coast, making attacks from the water difficult, even though the river was navigable up as far as the village at that time.



The River Harrestrup around the 1920's. The limestone for the local church is believed to have been freighted the about 2,5 km up the river.

Forstads museet B2304

¹⁴³ Boye, L. *Kulturhistorisk oversigt, Oldtiden indtil 1050*, 2006, pp. 70-76

Avedøre was similarly far from the coast, but it bordered directly on the boundary of the neighbouring village of Brøndbyøster, so closely that some of the houses in the village were actually inside Brøndbyøster.¹⁴⁴ There is no clear or even basically convincing explanation of this unusual localization.

An interpretation based on place-name research attributes Avedøre's location to the existence of huts and later a small village on the lower-lying land out towards the coast before the present village existed. With the transition from cattle to cereal farming, however, it was more expedient to locate the settlement higher in the terrain.¹⁴⁵

The predominantly rich soil in the two villages, the useful dense growth of reeds and rushes along the coast and the meadows along Kalveboderne formed the basis of profitable agriculture based on the three-course system in the centuries following the villages' entry into history. But the villages were fundamentally only two of the many thousand other villages in Denmark, the majority of which must have had a similarly asymmetrical relationship between the reality they themselves experienced and the external historical narrative.

Each of the two villages in the present-day municipality of Hvidovre lay in its own *herred* (jurisdictional district), and this limited their sense of community, since they were naturally oriented towards the villages in their own districts: Hvidovre towards the north and east in the direction of Rødovre, Vigerslev and Valby, and Avedøre towards the west and north in the direction of Glostrup, Ejby and Brøndbyerne.

As previously mentioned, Hvidovre was a village with a church built around 1150,¹⁴⁶ while Avedøre had no church and therefore gave its name to long-lasting myths about the violence, dishonesty and ungodliness of the population.¹⁴⁷ The fact that Hvidovre's neighbouring villages to the east, Vigerslev and Valby, did not have churches either has strangely enough not led to similar myths.

¹⁴⁴ Sørensen, H.: *Fæstebønder og Fingerplan*, 2006, p. 21. Land register lists Brøndbyøster, mat 36, Forstadmuseet.

¹⁴⁵ Hastrup, F.: *Danske landsbytyper*, 1964, pp. 102-3

¹⁴⁶ www.hvidovrekirke.dk

¹⁴⁷ Østergaard, B.: *Avedøre – en landsby vest for København*, 1981, pp. 8-10



The humble medieval village church (here with the tower added in 1790) was built in the second half of the 12th century. The building-material of the church was limestone and that may have caused the name change of the village around 1670 when the name 'Hvidovre' popped up. The prefix 'Hvid' means white. Similarly the neighboring village to the north where the church was a brick building at the same time had its name changed to 'Rødovre' and here the prefix means 'Red'.

Poul Sverrild, 2015

What was decisive for the future specific development of Hvidovre was its proximity to Havn/ København, i.e. the Harbour/Copenhagen. At first, this was because Copenhagen was the nearest and neighbouring market town, and later, from about the middle of the 15th century, it was because Copenhagen was the capital city of the realm.

With Copenhagen as the capital of the realm, the basis was laid for a more intense cultural impact, given that the distance between the village of Hvidovre and the Gammel Strand market in Copenhagen was a mere 7 kilometres. This facilitated very frequent visits to the market for the farmers and close contacts with events in the city.

At the end of the medieval period, a new framework for Hvidovre's dependence on the nearby capital was established. On the one hand this was created by the ownership of the land, which was transferred from the Church to the Crown in connection with the Reformation, and was thus moved from the remote market town of Roskilde to the neighbouring capital and city of royal residence.



The main highway in the realm went through the villages in the present municipality of Hvidovre for several hundred years after Copenhagen was turned into the capital of the kongdom. The road from Copenhagen's Vesterport (the old West Gate) wound through Valby and Vigerslev to Hvidovre and from there to Avedøre on its way to Køge and farther on to Vordingborg.

Section of map drawn by the Swedish engineer/officer Dahlberg in 1658 and printed 1699.

Forstadmuseet kortsamlingen

On the other hand, Hvidovre Church was now affiliated to the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen and thus to the University of Copenhagen, whose only interest in the village church was the revenue it generated.

Finally, from now on it was not without significance for Hvidovre that, as the fortified capital city, Copenhagen became an even more obvious military target, which logically exposed the closest villages to particular burdens in connection with acts of war.

16th – 18th CENTURIES

As previously mentioned, at the end of the Middle Ages proximity to Copenhagen was already significant for the most important institution in the local community – alongside the secular sociality expressed by the village community – the Church.

The many churches in the city of Copenhagen constantly needed income, and this also applied to the Church of Our Lady. So in principle the connection meant that revenue from Hvidovre Church was an attractive element for the Church of Our

Lady. At the same time, since the life of a clergyman in Copenhagen must have been far more attractive than life as a shepherd of souls in the city's closest western village, which moreover only consisted of farmers, servants, cottagers and artisans, the connection had certain specific consequences.

As the distance between Copenhagen and Hvidovre was easily covered, the Church of Our Lady decided in 1573 that Hvidovre Church would no longer be served by its own incumbent. After this, the village church was served by a curate from the Church of Our Lady.¹⁴⁸

Almost 350 years were to pass before Hvidovre Church again got its own incumbent. In the intervening period, different Copenhagen churches alternated in serving Hvidovre church, while the ownership by the Church of Our Lady, which was in turn owned by the University of Copenhagen, lasted throughout the whole period.

In 1747, the responsibility for serving Hvidovre Church was transferred to the new Frederiksberg Church, which again owed its existence to the newly constructed Frederiksberg Castle. However, a significant part of the revenue from Hvidovre was still to go to the Church of Our Lady.¹⁴⁹



Hvidovre municipal was associated with the brand new church in Frederiksberg, which owed its existence to the royal Castle towering the Frederiksberg Hill since the beginning of the 18th century. The hierarchy between the two municipal churches was given due to the royal connection, the modernity and the relative proximity to Copenhagen.

Poul Sverrild, 2016

¹⁴⁸ Rørdam, Fr.: *Om Hvidovre (Ovre ydre eller Nedre-Ovre Præstekald)*, 1875, p. 804.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 818

The association of Hvidovre Church with the municipal belonging to Frederiksberg Church made the relative importance of both churches quite clear. Frederiksberg Church had a royal lustre that the village church could in no way match. Similarly, the new vicarage in Pile Alle must have been far more attractive than the leased-out vicarage just north of Hvidovre Church on the outskirts of the village.

The annexation of the church as a chapel of ease to Frederiksberg Church was also decisive for the secular future of Hvidovre as a result of the linkage of the later local government with the ecclesiastical municipal structure.

The history of Hvidovre Church's association with other churches can serve as an image of the urbanization process of the period and its consequences for a village close to the city. The medieval church had been rooted in the village by virtue of its constant presence and participation in the productive life of the village. The church's own incumbent meant that this permanent presence ceased. Prior to its association with Frederiksberg Church, Hvidovre Church had been affiliated to a later-demolished church just outside the old north gate of the city, Nørreport. Later on, following its separation from Frederiksberg Church in the 1890s, Hvidovre Church's annexed status yet again illustrated the most recent Copenhagen suburban development when it was assigned to the then newly-constructed Jesus Church in Valby.



Hvidovre church once again was set aside by a new church when the founder of the Carlsberg Breweries built an impressive church in Valby close to the breweries. The Italian inspired church 'Jesuskirken' again had all the qualities of modernity and prestige, that Hvidovre church lacked.

Poul Sverrild, 2016

One of the great industrialists of the age, the brewer Carl Jacobsen, built this new, stately church in Valby and naturally, like the neighbouring Frederiksberg Church, it was more attractive than the small medieval church in Hvidovre. Not only was it a new church associated with the financial and cultural upper class; the new urban relations around the turn of the last century in the suburb of Valby, with its immediate proximity to Copenhagen, offered a clergyman more acceptable living conditions than the cramped medieval church in the village of Hvidovre could. Likewise, the congregation in Valby was now much larger than in Hvidovre.

One of the effects of the removal of the incumbent from Hvidovre at the end of the 16th century was that the village had no vicarage. During the centuries that followed the designated vicarage was managed by tenants under the University of Copenhagen, who, of course, could not give it the cultural dimension that could have been offered by the daily presence of a vicar.

As a quaint underlining of this and of the church's academic ownership, in the 19th century the vicarage, which had been without a vicar since the end of the 16th century, was referred to as *Magistergården* ('the Master's House').¹⁵⁰



In an attempt to maintain the distinctive history of the church in Hvidovre, the new municipal hall at Hvidovre Church from 2013 was named 'Magistergården' after the old farm, which originally functioned as the vicarage.

Poul Sverrild, 2015

¹⁵⁰ Forstadmuseet P 7, Ernst Andersens Arkiv, register 129

In a military context, Hvidovre was significantly influenced by its proximity to the capital city on two occasions. When the Swedes besieged Copenhagen in 1658-60, they demolished all of the houses and farms in Hvidovre and the church was so damaged that only the walls remained. The Swedish camps for the cavalry and infantry were placed in Kongens Enghave just east of Copenhagen, and in all likelihood the building materials from the village were used for these.

The second military impact was the establishment of the new fortifications around Copenhagen in the 1880s and 1890s.



The Cavalry School in Hvidovre from 1722 was one of the first four of 240 planned 'cavalry schools' built by the Danish King. Despite extensions, it is the best preserved of the four. The building is listed. (See note 154)
Forstadmuseet B5531

With Copenhagen as the capital of the kingdom, the road south west over Køge became one of the most important land-based thoroughfares, and from 1624 also one of the key postal routes: Copenhagen-Nakskov over Næstved and Vordingborg.¹⁵¹ It may be assumed that there was a weekly service on this route, and since the highway, later called Gammel Køge Landevej, passed through the villages of both Hvidovre and Avedøre, a royally licensed inn existed in Avedøre from about 1660.¹⁵² In 1716, there was also a royally licensed inn in Hvidovre; we know about its existence because Tsar Peter the Great made a stopover in the village that year.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Wittendorff, A.: *Alvej og Kongevej*, 1973, pp. 141-142

¹⁵² Højer, P.: *Avedøre Kro*, in *Glostrupbogen III* 1959-1962, p. 88

¹⁵³ *Rentekammeret, Relationsprotokol og Resolutionsprotokol 1716*. No. 72, 1125. Danish State Archives

At the same time – around 1720 – a new road to Køge was constructed, routed southward, closer to the coast than the existing road. This meant that from now on the main road avoided both Hvidovre and Avedøre, which were now situated in the hinterland. The direct route to Copenhagen required that one either first travelled south to the Køge Highway or northward to the Roskilde Highway.

If Hvidovre did not have a local clergyman, the village did on the other hand become the local centre for teaching in the area from 1722, when a ‘cavalry school’ was constructed beside the church,¹⁵⁴ where children not only from Hvidovre but also from the villages of Vigerslev and Rødovre were to be taught. The link with Rødovre lasted for fifty years, while the educational collaboration with Vigerslev only ended in 1901. The presence of a teacher did not have any great cultural impact for the first few years, since several of the teachers were of a character that was unable to command respect. Moreover, there would seem to have been a school in Hvidovre long before the Cavalry School was built; the sources refer to a schoolmaster in Hvidovre as early as 1635.¹⁵⁵

The effect of the school teaching in Hvidovre cannot be illustrated on the basis of the existing sources, but in 1766 – 44 years after the Cavalry School opened – there were still farmers in the village who signed with a mark instead of a signature.¹⁵⁶ Nor can it be established whether the activities of the school played any part in the high level of enlightenment that the farmers demonstrated in their relations with the state administration in Copenhagen.¹⁵⁷

As a first step in the great agrarian reforms of the 18th century, the farmers of Hvidovre achieved copyhold tenure of their farms in the middle of the 1760s. However, it was only with the enclosures of the farmlands at the end of the 1770s that the ongoing agrarian history of Hvidovre saw a major upheaval.

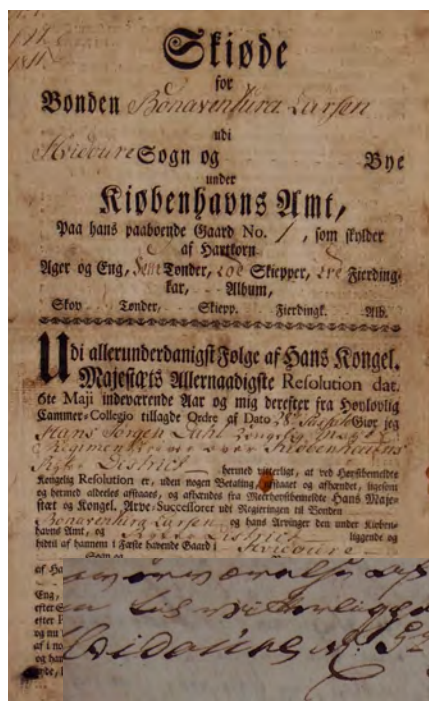
¹⁵⁴ Hvidovre Cavalry School is probably the oldest preserved of the 240 cavalry schools, i.e. schools for the education of the children of commoners in the official ‘cavalry districts’ where the farms were owned by the Crown; cf. Nordlund, H.O. *Rytterskolen i Hvidovre*, 1978. It is one of Hvidovre municipality’s two listed buildings.

¹⁵⁵ *Sokkelund Herreds Tingbøger 1634-36*, vol. 3, p. 132

¹⁵⁶ Deed for Bonaventuras Gård no. 1 in Hvidovre, Forstadsmuseet P 7/1

¹⁵⁷ The high level of information among the farmers in Hvidovre appears from Dieckmann Rasmussen, J.: *Bønderne og udskiftningen*, 1977. This dissertation gives a detailed analysis of the process of enclosure in Hvidovre and forms the basis for the following account of the process.

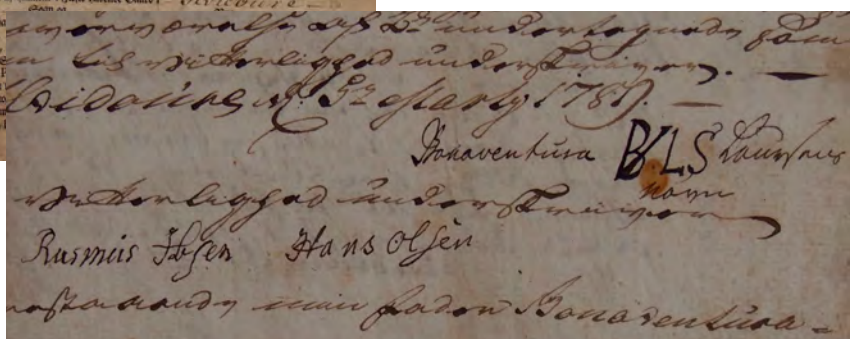
Yet again, this was a change that was initiated from the outside, and it further affected the traditional, conservative farming community in the village. The land reform came from the state apparatus of the Absolutist monarchy in Copenhagen, and took the form of an attack on centuries-old farming traditions, with practices



Deed no. 1 in Hvidovre dated 1766 and issued to the farmer Bonaventura Larsen whose family had held the farm since the beginning of the century.

The illustration beneath shows the emblem with which Bonaventura Larsen signed the deed and which was confirmed by two other local farmers. Despite having had a school since 1722, not all locals did write in the 1760's. The two local witnesses, Rasmus Ibsen and Hans Olsen, however did write - though with feeble hands.

Forstadmuseet, A2007/1



based on experience and living memory. In Hvidovre, the reform was furthermore introduced by the only farmer who did not physically live in the village.

That he was the initiator was no coincidence in this context since, at the same time, he was the only one of the farmers who had commercial interests outside the village. Apart from owning a farm in Hvidovre village, he was the owner of the royally licensed inn 'Flaskekro', which also remained outside the Hvidovre's house owners' association and was situated on the land of the village of Vigerslev. The inn

bordered on Hvidovre at the bridge that carried the new highway from Copenhagen to Køge over the river Harrestrup Å.

Flaskekroen had received its royal charter shortly before 1720, and towards the end of the century the existence of Flaskekroen led to the withdrawal of the royal charter from the old Hvidovre Inn in the village. The competition between the two inns is unlikely to have improved the atmosphere in the village.



Flaskekroen. Oil by Knud Larsen, 1950, probably after an unknown photography dating before 1908 when the telegraph poles were raised.

Forstadsmuseet Z197

The farmer in question, Ole Jensen, who had both a farm in the village of Hvidovre and an inn outside the house owners' association, took the initiative to have his land fenced off from the rest of the community. The objective was to connect the land of the farm with the inn, and this resulted in a dramatic course of events with a lengthy dispute between him and other farmers in the village.

The farmers of Hvidovre paid a high price for Ole Jensen's development-oriented response to the possibility of land reform. The price they paid was incarceration in the 'house of correction' (a harsh prison) for a large number of the male farmers in Hvidovre and in the equivalent prison known as 'the spinning house' for one woman. This was because after Ole Jensen's land was enclosed in the spring they

took the law into their own hands by ploughing the enclosed property in the same way as they had always done.

This long drawn-out local conflict culminated a few years later when Ole Jensen's brother-in-law, who also owned a farm in Hvidovre, demanded that his farm be enclosed and placed beside the farm parcel that had already been enclosed. He was physically attacked during the process and was quick to complain to the central authorities. The enclosure of this farm apparently made the distribution of power so clear that the violent conflicts ceased, and the process of enclosure later continued peacefully for the rest of the farmers, and was completed by 1777.

It was of revolutionary significance for the 'place' that when the farms were enclosed, they were transformed from integrated production modules in a village community based on rights and duties into independent properties – production units – in the modern sense, with individual property rights to the land and buildings.

In contrast to the biggest preceding change in the ownership of the farms in Hvidovre, which had taken place in connection with the Reformation in 1536 when the Crown took over the property of the Church without any radical changes in the everyday life of the farmers, the enclosures entailed significant changes.

In general, enclosure is treated naturally enough in the context of agrarian history, where it forms part of the history of modernization and the improvements in efficiency that facilitated the economic and social rise of the farm-owning class so that it also came to play a political role in the course of the next hundred years.

This history could have been the same in Hvidovre, had it not been for its proximity to the capital, which meant that the enclosures became the change of scene that made the transition to a periurban phase possible. This was the phase when commercial and locational paths were opened up for the place with Hvidovre as the point of departure, and correspondingly when the direction of development had not yet been fixed.

As was the case in most of the Danish villages, the development of Hvidovre was largely controlled by events and forces from the outside. The sources do not reveal special local features that could determine any particular directions of development, nor any local initiatives or reactions that indicate the direction the development would have taken if local forces had exerted any influence.

With the agrarian reforms Hvidovre entered a new reality where it was to an even increasing extent the surroundings that defined the framework for the village's developmental possibilities. The closeness to Copenhagen, the capital accumulation in the city as a result of the boom in this flourishing period, and the growing new middle class, brought some qualities to Hvidovre as a place for investments inasmuch as the land was no longer tied to life in the village as the basis of production.

The phase that the land reforms ushered in for Hvidovre would prove to be periurban. In principle, the development in management and ownership that followed in the years after the enclosures could merely have been a new version of a fundamental rural reality; however, less than a generation after the enclosures there were already activities in Hvidovre that had nothing to do with the local mode of operating, the past or the sphere of the local residents.

The land reforms heralded a time of opportunity in Hvidovre. Its proximity to the city meant that the reforms had other effects than they did farther from the city, and the activities for which there was now scope opened up several possible future lines of development. Given the rapid growth that characterized Copenhagen in the years following the land reforms, it was to be expected that the urbanization process would affect Hvidovre in earnest.

CONCLUSION

The review of the history of Hvidovre prior to the periurban phase has the primary aim of placing Hvidovre in its geographical and wider historical context. A secondary aim has been to note possible traces of independent action on the part of the local community when it came to relations with what lay outside the local community.

The sources for the history that preceded the periurban phase almost all have their origins outside the local context, and combined with the social structure that provided no important scope of action for the farmers, it comes as no surprise that it is hard to find local influence on the framework for the development of the structure of the local community.

If anything, the sources point in the opposite direction, since the absence of a local clergyman in the church village of Hvidovre deprived the local community of daily access to knowledge and academic cultivation outside the municipal that could have supported the local culture.

As a result of its church history Hvidovre was already subordinated to Copenhagen at the end of the sixteenth century because pastoral services were controlled from the capital and since the land had earlier been royal property it was also a long way from the owners of the village.

In connection with the agrarian reforms which paved the way for periurban development in Hvidovre and constituted a fundamental upheaval in the local conditions, the process of transformation was also launched from the outside. Not only was this a national initiative from the centre; locally, the initiative was also taken by the landowners who had the most peripheral position in relation to the local community and who were at the same time the local representatives of the royal powers.

Throughout the reform process the farmers of Hvidovre were averse to change, and in that connection demonstrated a disastrous propensity for action and a decided lack of understanding of both power relations and the logics of development.

There is a message in the absence of contemporary possibilities of illustrating the history of Hvidovre. As an 'ordinary' village with the Crown as owner, it had no subjects with an artistic appeal: no manor, no manse and no striking church-owner attracted interest from the outside, and no peculiarities of landscape marred the predominantly rich soil to any notable extent.

When the main highway from Copenhagen to Vordingborg was further sited to bypass the village, its place in the darkness was ensured for a period.

8 Periurban OPENINGS

This chapter takes Hvidovre into the periurban development phase and the sphere of which the village became a part from the end of the eighteenth century, and identifies forces and indicators that influenced the subsequent direction of development. Factors such as the development of property ownership, commerce and the population mix helped to describe and define the process from rural to periurban.

The chapter ends at the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, when a new phase in several respects arrived, and when several new actors appeared on the scene. One of the significant actors throughout the period of this chapter was local politics / administration. Formalized local-political action was only made possible at all by the Act on Municipal Councils at the beginning of the 1840s.

The municipal framework and the burgeoning local understanding of urbanization in Frederiksberg became crucial to Hvidovre's development potential along with the royal family's rejection of Frederiksberg as a residence locality.

As a result of the two expulsions from major municipal communities that Hvidovre experienced in 1858 and 1901 respectively, the political/administrative framework around future development was redefined.

The chapter further introduces a family which – in periods – is almost exemplary, and which from a status as upwardly mobile immigrants in Copenhagen were to play a role in the various transformations in the periurban phase, first of Frederiksberg and later of Hvidovre.

The period demonstrates in every way that Hvidovre had entered a periurban phase in which all potential avenues lay open there, and in which it was outside forces that pointed out one route – and rejected others. Only towards the end of this phase would one speak of local action in the struggle between countryside and town that was played out around Hvidovre.

The abolition of joint agricultural operations in Hvidovre was not merely, as intended, the start of a golden period for farmers in the owners' association. It also created a framework for the many new possibilities that suddenly presented themselves in the village community as the traditional cohesion between local presence, activities and tradition was abolished. There was room for new groups of people, new capital, new activities and new production – a space for action which was not urban in itself, but which was to a great extent based on urban activities.

It is within the framework of the range of activities that were tested in Hvidovre in the following century that the beginnings of future suburban development can be found. In my early work on the start of suburb formation in Hvidovre, in keeping

with the tradition, I placed the beginning where suburban characteristics really began to be identified.¹⁵⁸ This made 1901 a good year – the year when the municipality of Hvidovre emerged as a small independent municipality, on the basis of the decision by the municipality of Copenhagen that the capital should end at the municipal boundary to Hvidovre, Harrestrup Å.



Section of map dated 1817 showing the enclosures in Hvidovre that took place in 1777. Besides the large farm-plots all farms had access to meadows along the coast and in the middle a number of smaller plots were parceled out for smallholders.

<http://hkpn.gst.dk/>

This led to the significant observation that it was less than ten years before subdivision was in full swing in Hvidovre – physically ascertainable suburb formation was in progress. The ironic simultaneity between the establishment of the

¹⁵⁸ Nordlund, H.O., Sverrild, P. *Da Hvidovre blev mindre*, 1981, p. 47

city limits of Copenhagen, regarded by contemporaries as the limit of urbanization, and the ascertainable urban growth outside the newly established border, had to raise questions about what was happening.

There was then no concept that could meaningfully include the processes that were clearly active in Hvidovre during the change from a purely agriculture-based and traditional rural community with strong local roots to incipient specialization, adaptation to the urban market and openness to completely new activities. It was evident that something was going on below the surface in the period before the suburb was visible, and for lack of anything better, for a time I operated with a loose concept of 'before the suburb'.

The concept of the 'periurban' was the tool that could be used as a framework for understanding the activities, processes and events that occurred in Hvidovre in the period between the end of the tradition-bound village community and the establishment of the suburb of Hvidovre, with all the social and physical characteristics that became decisive for Hvidovre's function as a suburb in the Greater Copenhagen cityscape.

Work on the 'periurban' period and the 'periurban' space in Hvidovre points to potential ways explaining why social developments took precisely the direction they did. In the mixture of coincidences, conscious choices, general trends of the time and 'the great narratives', some key situations emerge as those that were especially important for the future development.

COPENHAGEN AND THE PERIPHERY

In older Danish urban history, the geographical space that would later include the suburbs only appeared when suburb formation became concretely relevant in the view of the city. It is characteristic that the classic historical urban-centric outlook on development included only areas outside the town that had historically played a role for the city.

With Copenhagen as an example, as an episcopal city and landowner, Roskilde played a role until the Reformation. Northern Zealand's role was as a hunting preserve for the royal family who resided in the capital, Amager played a role as a supplier of vegetables, Valby as a supplier of poultry, Brønshøj as the home of a Swedish military camp in the middle of the 17th century, the lakes of the Copenhagen catchment area for the drinking-water supply, etc.

What lay outside the periphery of the city was not interesting from the research point of view because of its own characteristics or inner life, even though relations between the periphery and the centre have been visible at many levels at all times. Since it was not city but country, it would be odd to include it in an urban history.

A more prosaic reason not to include the areas where the modern suburb came to develop was that much of the work on urban history was initiated and financed by the city government. There was thus a logic in urban history linked to the geographical unit and directly influenced by the city government. How the city influenced the hinterland was simply not interesting when the hinterland was part of a different political/administrative context from the city.

However, the failure to exploit the opportunity *also* to look from the outside in, and in the historical perspective, probably meant that some factors in the history of suburban and urban development remained unnoticed or underexposed. Through changes in trade and industry, occupations, the composition of residents and the ownership of property and land, it is possible to visualize factors and phenomena that anticipated later urbanization or to illustrate steps that identified development directions which, while they did not leave any long-term traces, nevertheless contribute to the understanding of the development history of the location and the unique preconditions of the individual suburb.

Suburban geography as a historical landscape in its own right first appeared in emerging local history in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁵⁹ This provided basic simultaneity between the growth of the rest of Danish municipal, local and county history and the very first approaches to the history of suburban geography.

For its part, in general, the local-history tradition has been most concerned with digging out history that had remained hidden because of its long life in the shadow of classical urban history. Who owned what, what buildings were constructed and when, who did what and who was chosen for what and when, how did schools and poorhouses function, how did enclosure proceed etc.? In many ways it was fundamentally about rectifying a general information vacuum around the agrarian landscape. But to the closest hinterland, it seemed as if proximity to the city resulted in a higher degree of invisibility than was the case in the rest of the country – if the landscape had not been mentally conquered by the city's higher and educated classes as was the case with some of the municipal municipalities north of Copenhagen.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. chapter 5 *The suburbs – theory, terminology and literature*

The city's periphery, the transition between town and country, otherwise represents an obvious historical object of study solely by virtue of its permanent presence and the transformation it has undergone.¹⁶⁰ Some of the processes of change become visible if one takes a starting point in the periphery, and it becomes possible to spot the forces and processes that preceded the development of the periphery, which posterity has called suburb formation.

In Denmark, suburbs generally grew out of the landscapes immediately adjacent to the market towns and large station towns, sometimes, as in Copenhagen, separated by an intermediate demarcation area. Until then, the periphery functioned as cultivation landscapes. During the 19th century, the areas typically underwent an evolution from farming to creating space for a more specialized mix of agriculture, dairy production and market gardening. Simultaneously, parallel luxury holiday homes for the upper middle class of the city began to appear, and a little later came homes for slightly larger classes of people together with areas for businesses with specific localization needs.

In this perspective, the hinterland close to the city would seem to have changed its function to that of the suburb through a very abrupt transition where land use went from crops to land development with a view to settlement without visible transition phases.

In this way, the individual early suburb appeared suddenly without any functional connection with the previous use of the area. This appears to have happened without any local starting point, as the first visible signs were the work of the surveyors, who converted fields to new land registry patterns and planned building sites and access roads.

Shifting the focus from the city centre to the periphery and relating to what was going on in the city's hinterland – both on and below the surface – makes it possible to study the forces and processes that paved the way for urbanization – or dealt a death blow to the agrarian reality. A viewpoint based on the periphery does not downplay interaction with the centre, but the peripheral point of departure may help to explain the specific direction of development in the individual local community.

Some of the explanations of the nature of subsequent urbanization are often to be found in the often wide variation of forces, processes and events that were part of the interaction between centre and periphery in the periurban phase, and similarly,

¹⁶⁰ McManus, R., Ethington, P., *Suburbs in Transition. New Approaches to Suburban History*, in *Urban History* 34, 2007, pp. 317-337

the lack of urbanization of some areas could be explained. It also becomes possible to identify when and how the periphery had a significant influence on the direction of development.

A historical approach to the suburbs that failed to pay attention to the existence and meanings of a periurban phase has led researchers to deal with the periods on either side of the development divide: either a remote agricultural history or a current suburban history.

The perspective in suburban history has most frequently been to regard the suburbs as the extension of the city, and it was therefore natural that suburban history was developed in the wake of urban history.¹⁶¹

In principle, there could with equally good reasons have been a perspective that was based on the origins of the suburbs as rural areas, after which suburban history could have been developed in the wake of rural history and in symbiosis with urban history, in step with its relevance to the phasing-out of rural settlement. It could be said that the relation of suburban history to urban history is another example of history being written by the victors – the urban historians.

As I will later point out, in the periods between the wars, suburban development in Hvidovre involved strong cultural and production elements from agrarian society, so the study of the significance of agrarian cultural elements for the design of suburbs could very well have been a task for agrarian historians.

With urban history as a springboard – and thus the city as the centre and the suburbs as periphery – the first part of the suburban urbanization process was difficult to identify and appraise. Moreover, any meanings of the later development of the suburbs that could be concealed by local developments were toned down or left unacknowledged, thus simplifying the image of the suburbs.

The simplified understanding of the history of suburban development has been reinforced by the preservation of building elements from the previous agrarian culture in the individual suburb. The scattered surviving farm buildings – worthy of

¹⁶¹ Clark, P. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, 2013. For example, suburban development is introduced in Peter Clark's introductory article as a function of the motorized North American city, p. 14, and in his chapter on the suburbs, J.S. Jauhainen points out that it is the city's economic, social, technical and spatial function that has defined the suburbs and controlled their growth, p. 791. In general, this approach can provide meaningful answers to our questions, but at the same time it risks overlooking the influence of the periphery in terms of its own imprint.

preservation or possibly even listed as protected – are located in the suburbs as memory markers of conditions before the suburbs and share nothing but the communication of the immediate past in the built-up landscape of the suburbs with the old farm and field names that local historians have been able to unearth for the suburban municipality's street-naming committees. Their presence is highly instrumental in maintaining the invisibility of the periurban phase by staging a simplistic dichotomy: suburban present and agrarian past.

A common transition period when subdivisions were used for summer stays has left very few traces corresponding to the traces of the rural communities. The holiday homes have been demolished and replaced by single-family houses from many decades, and there are opportunities to discover traces of summer-house culture in the suburb.

Country house culture is a significant and well-documented exception to this. An aristocratic/upper middle class country house culture developed around Copenhagen during the 18th century, and it blossomed especially north of the city in areas that have since been converted to suburbs around Gentofte, Lyngby and Søllerød.



Traces of country house culture in Hvidovre has been neglected and overlaid by later developments. Hvidborg was built by the end of the 19th century and was for a period country home for a noted owner of a Frederiksberg entertainment business, Lorry.

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Thanks to the links between country house culture and the changing versions of the upper class with its attendant power of fascination, country house culture has left a significant imprint on Danish architecture, art and personal history. With the primary localization of culture in later wealthy upper class suburbs, it was at an early stage also included in local history – the history of the upper class suburbs.¹⁶²

Outside the above-mentioned area, Frederiksberg was the other significant locality with a widespread country house culture, especially in the later part of the period. Country house culture was correspondingly prominent in local historical literature and self-understanding in Frederiksberg, although the emphasis on architecture in the history has become smaller as a result of the many demolitions that followed the massive urbanization of Frederiksberg in the second half of the 19th century.

The combined association of country house culture with the upper classes of society and the later development of the areas into suburbs characterized by a middle-class villa culture makes it natural to experience these developments as coherent and normal in a social sense, where the need to identify a periurban phase has not been urgent. Because of the strong historical exposure of country house culture, its topography is experienced as well described and thus part of history.¹⁶³

The situation is different in the suburbs, where country house culture has not been dominant or not even present. Hvidovre got its local bibliography in 1984 in the shape of a student assignment of 55 pages that was printed internally in a few copies.¹⁶⁴

Focusing on the developments prior to suburb formation and concentrating on what took place locally makes it possible to identify the scope, extent and nature of the periurban phase, and their significance may then become apparent. Operating with a periurban phase can clarify whether the transformation of the original rural communities in the hinterland began long before the earliest stages of the suburb

¹⁶² Sverrild, P., *Fire Lokalhistoriske Årbøger, en analyse af Gentofte-, Søllerød, Glostrup-bogen og Gladsaxe-årsskriftet*, unpublished paper for the MA in history at Copenhagen University, 1981, Forstadsmuseet, småskriftsamlingen, p. 21.

¹⁶³ The literature concerning the places where country house culture was widespread from the 18th century on is massive and often of a high professional standard. The attention paid to it has thus also been massive. Some examples of the interest in and the scope of the literature are *Litteratur om Søllerød Kommune. En bibliografi* by Friis-Hansen, J. B. and Slente, F., 1968. This two-volume work has no fewer than 484 pages. Or *Litteratur om Lyngby-Taarbæk. En bibliografi* by Fog, L. from 1987 in three volumes with no fewer than 879 pages.

¹⁶⁴ Bergen, B., Pedersen, E.T. *Litteratur om Hvidovre – en bibliografi 1750 – 1950*, Danmarks Biblioteksskole 1984.

were visible in the landscape, and also which elements in the phase determined the direction that development would take in terms of land use and social profile .

THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR HVIDOVRE IN THE Periurban PHASE¹⁶⁵

After a couple of decades, the dissolution of the village community that followed enclosure and new modes of operation meant that a new structure for managing local challenges had to be established. Problems of poverty led to nationwide legislation in the area. Over the following forty years a tradition of local administration of local conditions was developed, which resulted in the decree of 1841 on municipal councils. With the subsequent establishment of the municipal councils in 1843, the basic structure of subsequent local administration (and politics) was in place.

The beginning was a regulation from 1803 on poor relief that established a local body, 'the poor municipality'. Just ten years later, in 1814, school commissions supplemented locally organized poverty relief. Both bodies were based on municipal subdivisions, which at the time provided the framework for increasingly comprehensive decision-making systems throughout the century.

For Hvidovre this meant that the local administration apparatus that emerged through the first half of the 19th century was based on the result of the changing municipal structure that had influenced Hvidovre since the late 16th century. From the outset Hvidovre was therefore placed in a community with Vigerslev, Valby, Frederiksberg and Kongens Enghave.

FREDERIKSBERG-HVIDOVRE MUNICIPALITY

The geographical framework for poverty reduction and the school community stretched from Skt. Jørgens Sø in the east to the boundary between Hvidovre and Brøndbyøster and Avedøre respectively, in the west – a boundary that was also the boundary between the districts of Sokkelund and Smørum. The community was named after the municipal, Frederiksberg-Hvidovre, and the name followed the community until Frederiksberg became a municipality in its own right.

Already before the establishment of the fledgling local authority, the municipality had developed very unevenly, with Frederiksberg as the part that was most affected

¹⁶⁵ View map on page 17 on the four different generations of municipal borders.

by proximity to the city by virtue of the royal residence, and Hvidovre as the part that was farthest away and, together with Vigerslev, was least affected by this proximity.

The municipality covered the main town of Frederiksberg in the north east with a large and growing population, the large village of Valby south of Frederiksberg, the almost unpopulated Kongens Enghave farthest south facing Kalveboderne, the small village of Vigerslev on the eastern side of Harrestrup Å, with Damhussøen and Damhusengen farthest to the north west, and finally the somewhat larger village of Hvidovre to the west of Harrestrup Å.

In Frederiksberg, the presence of the royal castle since the 18th century had generated a country house and entertainment culture that was still developing around the middle of the 19th century. From the 1850s, this was supplemented by the new villa culture and the parallel development of more urban tenements and early industrial facilities.

The village of Valby was characterized by a large number of landless houses whose residents had traditionally supported themselves by market trading. With its station on the Roskilde line, in 1847 Valby gained a share in the most significant urban success of the coming decades, the rise of the 'station town'. In the first instance, the opportunities offered to Valby as a station town lasted only until 1864, when the line was rerouted to run over Frederiksberg instead.

In the 1850s, Vigerslev, Kongens Enghave, Hvidovre and the Damhus area were still agricultural areas with no visible beginnings of urbanization or industrial development, apart from industrial activity at Hvidovre Strand, which had practically ceased around 1850.

The quite uneven development in the various parts of the municipality in relation to urbanization is visible in the demographics of the villages. During the ten years between 1850 and 1860, the population of the Frederiksberg part of the municipality grew from under 3,000 to more than 8,000 inhabitants. This was because, as early as 1852, when the Copenhagen demarcation line was abolished, there was space for new construction, and a large number of sites for villas were parcelled out in Frederiksberg. Shortly afterwards the first blocks of flats were built.

In the first instance, suburban growth did not have any influence on the western villages in the municipality, where the population of Hvidovre only increased from 573 to 592. It was therefore natural that by the second decade of the municipality's existence, very different views of the different elements of the municipal future had already developed.

The challenges were well-known consequences of urbanization. Frederiksberg's bigger and more densely settled population, which was in large part reliant on contact with Copenhagen, had an interest in good roads, public transport, street lighting, sewers and the presence of law enforcement authorities.

The view of the other villages concerning the municipal future was characterized by a general lack of interest in developing in an urban direction. On the other hand, however, farmers in the Hvidovre part of the municipality were reluctant to let go of the strong and growing economy of Frederiksberg, which could help to finance the poverty problems of agricultural society.

But there was a third party at play in the ideas of the municipal future: Copenhagen, whose authorities were working for the inclusion of the Frederiksberg portion of Frederiksberg-Hvidovre in Copenhagen.

The Frederiksberg members of the Frederiksberg-Hvidovre municipal council, like Copenhagen, favoured a division of the municipality, but the representatives from Frederiksberg did so in order to divide the municipality into two independent municipalities. The Hvidovre-based municipal council members were against a division of their municipality.

The Frederiksberg residents who favoured a division of the municipality in order to establish an independent municipality of Frederiksberg, mobilized a popular manifestation in the form of an open meeting, where the citizens of Frederiksberg appealed to the Rigsdag (Parliament) to have the municipality divided and to maintain the municipal independence of Frederiksberg. This was accepted by the Rigsdag, which considered it the best way of letting the new city of Frederiksberg develop.¹⁶⁶

Naturally, there were economic interests behind the attitudes of all three municipal partners to the desirable municipal development. On the one hand, the Frederiksberg part needed an urban administrative framework to deal with the impact of population growth in the form of such modern utilities as gas lighting, sewers and public transportation. On the other hand, the Frederiksberg part also had a strong economic interest in avoiding inclusion in tax-burdened Copenhagen.

Conversely, Copenhagen had a similar obvious interest in the good taxpayers of Frederiksberg, but interest in the long-term urban opportunities inherent in the

¹⁶⁶ Bro, H. og Mohr, H., *Frederiksberg Kommune 1858-2008*, pp. 18-21.

development of Frederiksberg, which was wedged between the *-bro* areas of emerging Copenhagen, Vesterbro and Nørrebro, was also clear.

It was now obvious that the rural villages of the municipality were not interesting to the big players. No one, it would appear, was able to imagine that urban development could be of interest there; and their potential for anything other than producing paupers was not obvious. This is surprising considering that at that time the first Carlsberg brewery had been in Valby for ten years and the railway had been present with a station there since the mid-1840s.

In the light of the fact that Frederiksberg began to cultivate the role of urban counterpart to Copenhagen a few decades later, it is surprising that apparently no one in Frederiksberg put forward arguments about holding on to the southwestern parts of the municipality in connection with the municipal division. As illustrated (page 56) the dream of a bipolar capital dominated by Copenhagen and Frederiksberg might have been a reality without the municipal division.

For Hvidovre the long-term consequences would have been correspondingly significant. Instead of being on the edge of the western region of Copenhagen, Hvidovre would have been part of Frederiksberg.'

It was to be expected that farmers in Hvidovre, Vigerslev and Valby would not succeed in their desire to maintain the connection with Frederiksberg. They were few and their areas were only sporadically affected by urbanization, and they would still constitute a municipality of a considerable size compared with many other municipal municipalities. What was more surprising was that the Frederiksberg part with its still-limited population could succeed in its desire for independence and market-town-like status against the wishes for annexation expressed by the metropolitan municipality of Copenhagen with many times the population.

One of the reasons for Parliament's decision in favour of a division of the municipality with a view to the independence of Frederiksberg was that it was a temporary arrangement. The decision would thus look like an implicit criticism of the Copenhagen city government when there was no immediate merger with the metropolitan municipality. We are left with the impression of a capital city that had not formulated a development strategy for the city's future and was to pay the price for it.

Divisions and mergers of municipalities because of suburban development were subsequently frequently-used tools in Danish practice throughout the almost 120

subsequent years. As in this case, it rarely happened without conflict, and it is thus a part of a Western European tradition.

*‘The differences and conflicts between cities and suburbs are too deep-seated for inter-local agreements. Generally speaking, the lack of success of voluntary inter-municipal co-operation in a city-regional context is a fact throughout Western Europe’.*¹⁶⁷

The same pattern would repeat itself half a century later at the next municipal division. Then too it was difficult to reach agreement without interference from the state level.

The consequences of Frederiksberg’s early suburban development were several, multiple and far-reaching for the residual part of the municipality. The new Hvidovre-Valby municipality created by the division was transferred west, and the eastern border was now no longer at Skt. Jørgens Sø close to the centre of Copenhagen, but south east of Frederiksberg Bakke, where the neighbouring area was now the Vesterbro area of Copenhagen.

The new neighbourhood was less attractive in the light of developments there over the following decades, when the *-bro* area was densely populated and developed as a predominantly working class area with the associated reputation. This again had implications for Hvidovre in the first decades of the 20th century, when it was largely Copenhagen citizens residing in Vesterbro who bought the newly parcelled-out plots in the neighbouring municipality.¹⁶⁸

The process of division demonstrated the importance for the citizens of Frederiksberg of being city-dwellers. It was largely Copenhageners who moved to rural Frederiksberg within a few decades. It was not unnatural that as a social class they could influence the decision of Parliament. What is more surprising is that Copenhagen did not.

Furthermore, and fully consistently with what might have been expected, the rural population had no influence whatever on the outcome. They had weight neither in numbers nor in terms of social status in relation to Frederiksberg. So the decision to shift the new municipality farther away from the city centre came from the outside on the basis of out-of-town problems.

¹⁶⁷ Voets, J., Rynck, F. De, *Contextualising City-regional Issues, Strategies and their Use: the Flemish Story*, Local Government Studies, 34:4, p. 456.

¹⁶⁸ Holden, L., *Hvidovre – mulighedernes land*, in *Fortid og Nutid*, Dansk Historisk Fællesråd, 1994,4, pp. 331-356.

The old parochial cohesion of Hvidovre, Vigerslev and Valby from before 1747 was once more the setting for a municipal community. Thus the historical basis was in order, but independence was not desired locally.

HVIDOVRE-VALBY MUNICIPALITY

The remaining part of Frederiksberg-Hvidovre municipality was now to have a new name. For the first time, there was a place for the municipality's main village, Valby, although it had to settle for being mentioned as the final element in the name. The name of the new municipality was Hvidovre-Valby out of respect for the municipality's local municipal origin. Of course, the church town of Hvidovre had to be mentioned first, although it was significantly smaller than Valby and without the middle class that had been part of Valby for decades.

Urbanization quickly caught up with the new Hvidovre-Valby municipality, which was created in 1858. In the easternmost part of Valby, as mentioned, the Carlsberg brewery had already been established in 1847 at the border of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, and in 1871 the new Carlsberg brewery was also opened in this part of Valby. In the village itself, companies like the tannery Lundsteds Garveri also began to appear. It was founded in 1860.¹⁶⁹

In the same year as the New Carlsberg Brewery was founded, industrial development began in Kongens Enghave with the brickworks Frederiksholms Kalk- og Teglværker, which quickly became one of the leading producers in the country with an annual output of 30 million bricks.¹⁷⁰ More jobs came to the western part of Kongens Enghave, where an asylum for the mentally retarded, Karens Minde,¹⁷¹ was built a few years later in 1879.

The villa neighbourhood also arrived in the part of Valby just south of Søndermarken with the subdivision of Bjerregård in the 1880s, and urban development was crowned with the building of the church Jesuskirken in 1891.

In 1870, for the first time, the municipality of Copenhagen entered Valby as a player with the inauguration of the 54-hectare Vestre Kirkegård, which the City Council had been unable to find space for within the municipal boundary.

¹⁶⁹ Eriksen, J. M. *Valbys garverier i miljøhistorisk sammenhæng*, in *Historiske Meddelelser om København 1901, 2001*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁰ Reddersen, J. *Forvaltning af et bykvarter i forandring*, SBI 1993, p. 17

¹⁷¹ Kirkebæk, B.: *Uduelig og Ubruelig – Åndssvageasylet Karens Minde 1880-1987*, 2007.

The burgeoning urban development that began appearing in Valby and similarly in the Brønshøj portion of Rødovre-Brønshøj municipality had already manifested itself in Sundbyerne on the island of Amager in the 1870s. Even at this early stage, this gave rise to deliberations in Copenhagen City Council on the incorporation of the neighbouring areas on Amager.¹⁷²

The incorporation process for Sundbyerne was thus fundamentally different from the incorporation of Brønshøj, Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave. In a complicated municipal process, urban development on Amager led first to a special tax scheme in 1893, then local government autonomy for Sundbyerne in 1895 and finally incorporation in Copenhagen in 1902.¹⁷³

In the Copenhagen municipality, as mentioned, the focus intensified over time on the desirability of access to undeveloped land, whether inside or outside the municipal boundary. Copenhagen had tried to incorporate Frederiksberg on several occasions, but the 1890s saw a marked change in Copenhagen land policy. On the one hand, through agreements with the state the municipality secured land within the municipal boundary, and on the other through acquisitions outside the existing municipal boundary.¹⁷⁴

The Copenhagen acquisitions in the 1890s differed from some previous acquisitions where the arrangements had current and specific purposes, such as the acquisition of land for Vestre Kirkegård in Valby. During this period, there was a mixture of land acquisition for specific purposes and purchases that merely secured the municipality's control over the future use of the land.

Up to the turn of the century urban development in the municipal municipalities closest to Copenhagen, Hvidovre-Valby and Rødovre-Brønshøj, had come so far that predictable financial problems were threatening the basic running of the municipalities.

The governing circles in large parts of the two municipalities lived mainly by agriculture, and the process that was now under way and ended with Copenhagen's incorporation of Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave from Hvidovre-Valby municipality and Brønshøj from Rødovre-Brønshøj municipality, had to do with an

¹⁷² *København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41*, Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, p. 19

¹⁷³ The municipal development process for Sundbyerne is reviewed in Elsbøll, L. *Fra Sundby til København S*, 1998

¹⁷⁴ Knudsen, T. *Storbyen støbes*, 1988, pp. 143-45.

urbanization that required an economic organizational structure different from what the agricultural community could cope with.¹⁷⁵

Against this background, in November 1898 Rødovre-Brønshøj municipal council approached the Ministry of the Interior about the problematic future prospects, and a month later Hvidovre-Valby municipal council also wrote to the ministry because the ongoing development of building and business seemed to threaten the municipal economy, which was largely based on the taxation of agricultural land. For Hvidovre-Valby municipal council, it was not least the construction of housing for workers in Valby that they anticipated would become a burden on the local economy.

The appearance of the two almost simultaneous letters suggests coordination between the municipal councils. Shortly afterwards, in February 1899, the Copenhagen City Council appointed a committee to meet with the Rødovre-Brønshøj municipal council with a view to the incorporation of parts of the municipal municipality.¹⁷⁶

As a point of departure, the municipal councils wanted taxation to be reorganized so that a larger portion of the tax burden could be assigned to the non-landowning groups. At that time, the municipal councils had a majority of large landowners by virtue of the provisions of the Land Municipal Act of 1867, which operated with two classes of voters. The one that elected the majority consisted of the largest property owners and taxpayers in the municipality.

¹⁷⁵ Where not otherwise indicated, the description of the incorporation process is based on Nordlund, H.O., "Indlemmelsessagens forløb" in Nordlund, H. O. and Sverrild, P. *Da Hvidovre blev mindre*, 1981.

¹⁷⁶ Ejlersen, T.: *Da København gik i dybden, højden – og bredden*, in *Historiske Meddelelser om København 1901*, 2001, p. 13. Torben Ejlersen found that the approach by the city council to Rødovre-Brønshøj municipal council indicates that Copenhagen City Council took the initiative for the later incorporation. In contrast, in *Storbyen støbes*, p 147, Tim Knudsen wrote that it was the two municipal councils that were behind the initiative. What makes Torben Ejlersen's view the more likely one is, as Tim Knudsen also indicates, that the negotiations with Hvidovre and Rødovre were followed by talks with Sundbyerne, and that the incorporation of Gentofte and Frederiksberg was also considered. The strategic interest on the part of Copenhagen is also supported by the fact that an incorporation of Sundbyerne did not seem to provide any revenue in the foreseeable future.

In my view, the fact that the municipal councils initiated the approach to the Ministry of the Interior suggests that it may have been this contact that inspired the Copenhagen initiative. The incorporation process would have had a more direct starting point in the municipal municipality's perceived need for financial sustainability than in the municipality of Copenhagen's prevailing understanding of the possibilities of expansion. At all events the opening led to a municipal solution that was contrary to Hvidovre's wishes for full incorporation.

In a report on the proposed incorporations in the municipality of Copenhagen in 1899, a committee of the Copenhagen City Council wrote that:

*‘.. the latter village [Hvidovre] and surrounding district, even in the foreseeable future, seems to be so far from a market town-like settlement that this area and Copenhagen have no common interests. The same point of view has prevented negotiations being initiated about the incorporation of the Brønshøj Annexe Municipal, Rødovre. In addition, Harrestrup Å, which divides Hvidovre from Valby, will form a future natural and practical boundary for Copenhagen to the west’.*¹⁷⁷



When the council of Copenhagen pointed to the small river ‘Harrestrup Å’ as the natural border between the two municipalities it was an excuse for the lack of will to incorporate rural Hvidovre in the capital despite the local wishes. Less than twenty years later the decision was lamented in Copenhagen. The lower part of the river. Oil by A.P.Andersen, 1920.

Forstadsmuseet Z1

This was written in the specific situation where the municipality of Copenhagen was now committed to ensuring spatial expandability, but simultaneously had to consider where and how the future municipality was to be delimited.

¹⁷⁷ *København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41*. Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, p. 19.

The committee's considerations were based on its observations of Hvidovre in terms of demography, commerce and current land use. But there was no more detailed analysis of developments in Hvidovre. The reason that the Hvidovre homeowners' association was at all mentioned was that farmers and gardeners in Hvidovre had asked to be included in the municipality of Copenhagen now that the main bulk of the Hvidovre-Valby municipality was facing incorporation.¹⁷⁸

In view of the continuing large-scale migration to Copenhagen the urbanization history of the previous six years with growing suburbanization in concentric rings in relation to the old city limits, and in view of the rapid development in the large areas that Copenhagen incorporated in 1901 and 1904, it should have been obvious to contemporaries dealing with such developments that urbanization would reach Hvidovre within a few years in one form or another. That speculators and investors could see this – and had seen it – is described later in this chapter, but locally in Hvidovre there was no acknowledgement of impending urban development; at most there was an emerging understanding of a third way/option; Hvidovre as summer-house country.

At least there are no traces of any understanding of the inevitability of impending urbanization in the political or administrative actions of the municipal council. It was as if the municipal council, having been refused entry into urban Copenhagen, has simultaneously accepted that the City Council had seen the light about the city's future development.

At the end of the 19th century, the working population in Valby greatly increased, and there was more and more industry. This meant that when the municipality was divided in 1901, just 10% of Hvidovre-Valby's population was left behind in the new municipality of Hvidovre.¹⁷⁹

The situation was a little different in Rødovre-Brønshøj, Hvidovre's neighbouring municipality to the north, where circumstances were similar to those of Hvidovre. Through the last decades of the 19th century, the Brønshøj part of Rødovre municipality, unlike Hvidovre municipality's Valby part, had experienced a positive growth of workers with jobs in Copenhagen. On that basis it was thus Rødovre's landowners there who repeatedly sought to be divorced from the Brønshøj part of the municipality in order to avoid being party to the costly urban development.

¹⁷⁸ *København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41*. Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, p. 16.

¹⁷⁹ Nordlund, H. O. and Sverrild, P. *Da Hvidovre blev mindre*, 1981, p. 9.

At first, the goal for Rødovre-Brønshøj municipality had been to create two autonomous municipalities, but Copenhagen's plans for incorporation fitted nicely into the local agenda in Rødovre, where landowners were happy at the prospect of a division when Copenhagen now incorporated Brønshøj.¹⁸⁰

The strangely archaic opinion of the Copenhagen City Council that Harrestrup Å formed a natural border to the west of the Copenhagen municipality looked like an automatic reaction to the view that the city limit 'had to be drawn somewhere'. This made it easy to think in terms of physical barriers that were more appropriate to nation-states than to local-authority administrative structures. Ironically, the municipality of Copenhagen took the decision while working on the formation of the first building society on the basis of the 1898 Act on State Aid for the construction of public housing, to begin west of the agreed city boundary.¹⁸¹ The building arose predictably close to one of Copenhagen's main exit roads, Roskildevej.

So there was a strange simultaneity between the establishment of the capital's new and presumably future-proof western and southern borders and the beginning of a new development outside the boundary. As described, the developments in the previous periurban phase in Hvidovre also clearly pointed towards the phasing-out of rural culture and the development of other new activities related to urbanization: industry, commerce, horticulture, dairies and land speculation.

The Copenhagen incorporations left two small municipalities to the west with 559 and 716 inhabitants respectively – municipal municipalities which in terms of area and population looked like hundreds of other municipalities across the country at the time. However, although there were signs everywhere that a periurban process had been under way for a long time, there were no clear ideas about the direction the further process would take.

¹⁸⁰ Rambusch, S. (ed.) *Rødovre 1901-1976*, 1978, p. 12. The housing association 'Fremtiden' was formed in 1902 by typographers from Copenhagen who bought land parcelled out from the Annexe farm and built 44 single-family houses, which was the earliest villa area in the western catchment area of the municipality of Copenhagen.

¹⁸¹ Ibid p. 182.

FREDERIKSBERG'S Periurban PHASE¹⁸²

In the ecclesiastical-administrative entity that comprised Frederiksberg-Hvidovre municipal from 1747, it was for several reasons Frederiksberg that was the first part to be involved in a process leading to the urbanization of the agrarian areas. Of the four villages in the municipal, Frederiksberg was the closest to Copenhagen, but the construction of Frederiksberg Castle around the year 1700 was equally important.

Before that, the rural culture of Frederiksberg¹⁸³ had undergone a complex development with forced relocation of local farmers for the benefit of large-scale operations on the royal farm, followed by descendants of Dutch farmers on Amager. The royal presence in Frederiksberg separated the village from the other villages in the municipal. It changed the village's original farm structure in favour of smaller farms, and some of the villagers found work at the castle as early as the first years of the 18th century.

In the second half of the 18th century, citizens of Copenhagen bought property in Frederiksberg when part of the royal land was sold, and at the same time Frederiksberg became home to a nascent mercantilist industry. This meant that in 1787 Frederiksberg had a population of about 1,143, whereas the inhabitants of the other villages of the municipal were 600 in Valby, 126 in Vigerslev and 303 in Hvidovre.¹⁸⁴

Already at that time, the population of Frederiksberg was far bigger than the typical number for a village in the area. It then rose slowly until 1801, but it doubled in the decades between 1801 and 1840 because of growth that did not come from rural development.

Frederiksberg was already then not merely a village with scattered farms like other homeowners' associations in the municipality. With a population of about 900 in the town of Frederiksberg itself in 1835, the area was the same as some of the small Danish market towns.

¹⁸² The section on Frederiksberg is largely based on www.stadsarkivet.frederiksberg.dk and W.H. (Wilhelm Henriques) *Frederiksborgs Tilstande*, 1949.

¹⁸³ The original village, Solbjerg, was followed by the village of Ny Amager, which then took its name after the owner of the castle, King Frederik IV, at the beginning of the 18th century.

¹⁸⁴ Rasmussen, K.W. *Folketælling 1787*, privately published, 1989.

It appears from a list of ‘prominent residents’ in Frederiksberg in 1850, when the population had reached 2,874, that these were largely persons of rank with no connection with the village who had made their way out there. As well as the influx that supplied labour for industry in Frederiksberg, there were many households that represented a continuation of country house culture. So even though the social composition among the newcomers was very broad, it still pointed to the marked influence of the presence of Frederiksberg Castle, which was still periodically a royal residence around 1850. There were also many military figures, some officials and a large group of manufacturers, wholesalers and the like.¹⁸⁵

In the following decade up to 1860, the population of Frederiksberg exploded, almost tripling to 8,164 inhabitants, and during the same period Frederiksberg also formally changed character from being part of a rural municipality to a status as an urban, built-up municipality.

At the time of the municipal separation from Valby, Vigerslev and Hvidovre in 1858, Frederiksberg in many ways acquired its special profile as an area with well-to-do residents. Frederiksberg’s affluent profile in relation to Copenhagen was one of the arguments for independence – an otherwise natural merging with Copenhagen would have led to tax increases and was thus not attractive to Frederiksberg.

Nevertheless, there was room for both a large working population and industry in the affluent profile of Frederiksberg – in contrast to Copenhagen’s neighbouring municipality to the north, Gentofte. Frederiksberg’s complex structure as a suburb which came to house wealthy people as well as working-class and industrial neighbourhoods, was defined through the course of the periurban phase.

The first long part of the phase was determined by the construction of the royal castle in Frederiksberg. Its presence can be considered as the start of the periurban phase, to which a distinctive direction was further added by the specific local agricultural development with village closure, importation of small farmers, and

¹⁸⁵ W. H., *Frederiksborgske Tilstande*, 1866/1949, pp. 15-18.

Ranks, 19: 5 chamberlains, 1 royal adviser, 5 judicial councillors, 1 senior civil servant, 2 tax assessors, 1 court chamberlain, 1 grand huntsman, 3 councillors of state.

Military, 18: 1 general, 1 general war commissioner, 2 senior war commissioners, 2 colonels, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 5 captains, 2 senior judge advocates, 1 war assessor, 1 official at the Ministry of War

Civil service, 10: 2 pastors, 1 councillor, 1 civil service secretary, 1 inspector of roads, 2 professors, 1 postmaster, 1 Master of Arts, 1 commissioner

Private businessmen, 25: 2 doctors, 9 manufacturers, 7 wholesalers, 1 High Court attorney, 2 estate owners, 1 distiller, 3 foundry owners.

property structure. Proximity to Copenhagen was yet another factor with the easy transport distance between the acreage in Frederiksberg, which had already been taken into use for industrial production in the second half of the 18th century, and Copenhagen.

The short distance also enabled country house culture to interact closely with city life in Copenhagen. It was possible to make dinner visits or social calls from the city and go home the same evening without major hardships, so country house culture was not dependent on the possibilities for housing overnight guests.¹⁸⁶

Alongside the phasing-out of country house culture, villa culture increased from the mid-1850s and formed the basis of Frederiksberg as an affluent neighbourhood. But in the dynamic urban growth after the abolition of the demarcation line, there was also room for blocks of flats and industries whose growth was not inferior to that of Copenhagen.

In many ways, in the second half of the 19th century Frederiksberg represented urban development that could have occurred in an independent urbanization process. In Frederiksberg, there was a very long transition period between the use of land for cultivation purposes and its use for urban purposes.

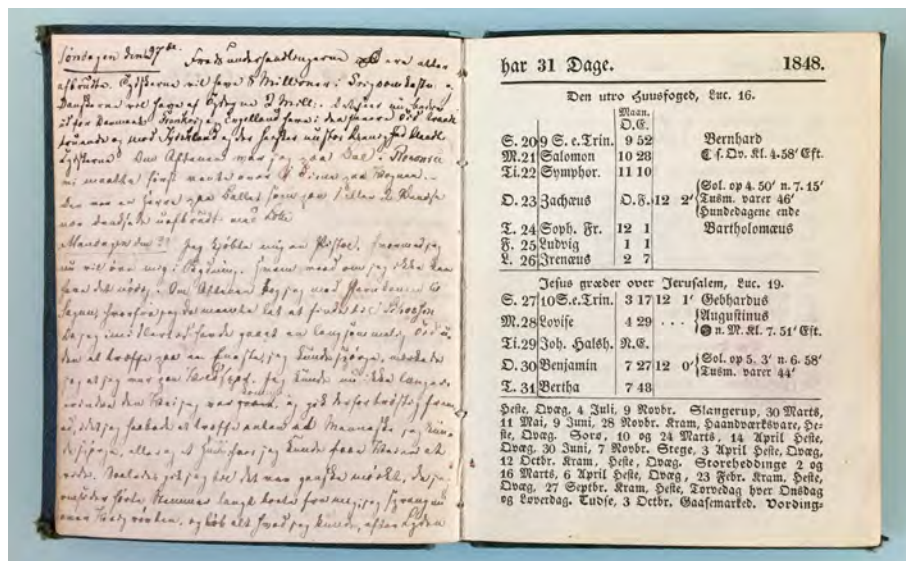
In the earliest country house stage, it was not a given that periurban development would point towards suburban formation. The massive urbanization in the decades following the separation from Valby, Vigerslev and Hvidovre and the self-understanding of Frederiksberg as an area of affluence which defined its relationship with Copenhagen, meant that the periurban phase may be considered to have been completed during the first decades of the 20th century. It was then assumed that Frederiksberg's structure and profile were fixed for a lengthy period. The municipality's political history reflects its self-understanding, its development ideals and the municipality's potential, inasmuch as Frederiksberg has been governed since 1909 by the Conservatives (during the first period under the old name of Højre (Right)).

¹⁸⁶ Troels-Lund, *Bakkehus og Solbjerg* I-III, Gyldendal 1920-22. This work describes the rich cultural life which was enjoyed around Bakkehuset from time to time from the earliest years of the 19th century in a dynamic interaction between town and country. Bakkehuset lay in the corner between Frederiksberg, Valby and Vesterbro in a landscape that provided ample scope for the nature worship of the time. It was educated, upper-class urban culture that prevailed here.

A FAMILY IN TWO Periurban SPHERES

– 1. FREDERIKSBERG

Through a diary series, it has been possible to exemplify conditions during the periurban phase in both Frederiksberg and Hvidovre within the framework of a single family. Hagbart Valdemar Brusch (HVB) kept a diary that described his family's life and culture, first through the eyes of a young man and with a high degree of detail and a natural prioritization on the basis of his personal life.



The diaries of Hagbart Valdemar Brusch from the 1840's are written in the almanacs of the years. There were few blank pages so the hand is rather cramped. They bear the mark of being written by a very young and not very mature man, but they convey a very sharp picture of the social life of a bourgeois family in 'biedermeier' Copenhagen.

Forstads museet P23, dagbog 1848

Later, as a mature man, he wrote a more concise and targeted diary that kept track of the external events in family and working life. He kept diaries throughout long periods of his life, and they are preserved for the periods December 1843 to October 1853, and January 1882 to December 1888.¹⁸⁷ As part of the wealthy upper middle class, HVB's family benefited from opportunities and trends in the period's urban growth and its new urban cultures. The painters Lundbye, Frølich and P.C.

¹⁸⁷Hagbart Valdemar Brusch, *Dagbøger 1843-53 og 1880-1888*, Forstads museet P/23. The original and transcriptions of the oldest diaries exist.

Skovgaard were among the family's social circle, and Hans Christian Andersen also visited the home.¹⁸⁸

The family's Copenhagen history began with HVB's father, Frederik Johannes Brusch, who was born in Mecklenburg in 1804 into a family belonging to the Moravian Brethren. He had trained in the kitchens of the Grand Duke of Schwerin and later moved to Copenhagen, where he was employed as a cook at General Oxholm's home. In 1823 he moved as a tenant into Østergade 72 (Strøget), and later bought the entire property, where his restaurant was also located. He acquired citizenship as a restaurateur in Copenhagen in 1829. The business thrived and placed the family among the city's wealthy citizens.

In 1827, his son Hagbart Valdemar Brusch was born as number two in a flock of children who eventually numbered seven. The family lived above the business, and in 1840 the household included eight servants in addition to the nine family members.¹⁸⁹

As part of the city's enterprising middle class, it was natural that the family soon acquired a country house, and like many other wealthy Copenhageners Brusch found a property for the purpose in the village of Frederiksberg. The original 'farm no. 1' on Lampevejen 14 (now Finsensvej) now became the country house 'Ludvigslust'.¹⁹⁰ In 1842, in connection with the transition to country house, the old half-timbered farmhouse was replaced by a brick-built house, which was more appropriate for a well-to-do family.

During the 1840s, the family made more and more use of the country house, both for socializing and residence, and before 1850 they moved permanently from Copenhagen to Frederiksberg and the property in Østergade was sold in 1851. After moving to Frederiksberg, Brusch senior, who had not yet turned 50, was referred to as a '*particulier* (rentier)'¹⁹¹ i.e. someone who lived on his assets. The family

¹⁸⁸ Gamberg, H. *Små glimt fra 1840'ernes København fortalt af proprietær Hagbart Valdemar Brusch, f.1827. exam. jur.* Handwritten manuscript, undated, Forstadmuseet P/23

¹⁸⁹ The biographical information is taken from 'Hagbart Brusch, dagbøger – anoteret af museumsinspektør Lisbeth Hollensen', Forstadmuseet.

¹⁹⁰ The country house was named after Frederik Johannes Brusch's home town, 'Ludwigslust' at Schwerin in Mecklenburg. *Optegnelser om Rohde, Brusch og Winsløw m.v.*, P/24/3, Forstadmuseet.

¹⁹¹ W.H., *Frederiksborgske Tilstande*, 1866/1949, p. 16.

fortune came from the operation of the restaurant in Østergade, which was regarded as one of the finest in the capital.

At the country place, which resembled a small farm, after the family's relocation from Copenhagen, there were two horses and two cows, and the family had three vehicles, one 'golden carriage', one 'silver carriage' and a 'rubbish carriage'.¹⁹²

HVB grew up in a family whose everyday life followed a typical urban middle-class pattern. There were almost endless social contacts with family friends and acquaintances, frequent cultural activities such as walks, excursions to the local attractions of the city and the local area, visits to the theatre, and interest in current events in the form of the arrival of steamships, city fires and firework displays. Their social life was extensive and not least included frequent card and other games.



Section of map of Frederiksberg around 1857, reconstructed by the municipality of Frederiksberg at the centenary of the separation from Hvidovre and Valby. The municipality of Copenhagen bordered to Frederiksberg at the blank areas of the map. Ludvigslust is indicated by the red arrow. The property was on 2 acres.

Frederiksberg Stadsarkiv

¹⁹² Optegnelser om Rohde, Brusch og Winsløw m.v., P/24/3, Forstadsmuseet.

From the diary from HVB's adolescence, we get a picture of the relationship between life in the city and the family's use of their newly-acquired country house – a property that within a few decades came to be included in the modern suburb's middle-class residential neighbourhood and which was also the family's main residence.

In the early 1840s, the Brusch family used the property in Frederiksberg, which the diary refers to as both 'Ludvigsløst' and 'the country house', very frequently and for a variety of purposes. From the start of the diary at the turn of 1843-44 and over the following nine months up to October of the same year, the diary mentions almost 100 visits and activities at Ludvigsløst.

The many mentions first and foremost reflect that the family had not resided permanently in the country house through the summer months, which was otherwise common with upper-class country houses. Hagbart Valdemar Brusch himself was only out there for a short period that year; his mother was there with a maid for a short time, and the rest of the family for a short period. The frequency of the visits was also a natural consequence of the short distance of about four kilometres between the residence in Copenhagen and the country house. This is why the diary constantly mentions trips to and from the country place.

The description of the functions of the country house and its role in everyday life confirms the current view of the country house culture of the time. Periods spent there were not holidays, but to a great extent a continuation of the life lived and the chores performed daily.¹⁹³

HVB's diary for this period provides a detailed picture of the functions for which the family used the house. The frequent use allowed for a very wide range of activities, many of which merely replaced the activities that could have taken place in the flat in Østergade, while others could only occur in the physical environment offered by the country house and its land.

The diary mentions no fewer than 45 social events at the country house in nine months, and the entries create an image of rather informal conditions where guests came both according to plan and unannounced. At the beginning of the year, an outdoor bowling alley was constructed, which was then extensively used when they had guests, just as a variety of games formed part of the entertainment. What was more unusual was the diary writer's penchant for producing and burning fireworks.

¹⁹³ Bøgh, C. *Ferie – hvad er det?* in Birkebæk, F. et al. (eds.) *Sommerglæder*, Arv og Eje 1985, p. 43.

This was part of entertaining the guests and took place on twelve occasions over the summer.



A niece of Frederik Johannes Brusch drew the only existing picture of Ludvigsløst (1860s). The picture illustrates the reconstruction of the building that converted the old farmhouse into a building worthy of country house status. The family owned Ludvigsløst until the death of restaurateur Brusch in 1872, after which it was sold to the municipality of Frederiksberg. Most of the land had been sold off in the years before.

Frederiksberg Stadsarkiv

During the summer, the diary describes six walks in the vicinity and experiences of sunsets – activities that posterity too associates connects with summer residence in the country and as a contrast to city life. In many ways, the social activities were comparable to later Danish summerhouse culture with its rather informal social

conventions,¹⁹⁴ and contrasted with the rigid social norms that also characterized middle-class social conventions in the first half of the 19th century.

The use of the country house as a setting for both socializing and production is illustrated by the following entries in the diary.

'On the 27th Father woke us at 3.30 and we all drove out to the country house except Uncle and me, who had to walk because of our stupidity. Shortly after we had drunk coffee, Anton came and soon after that Uncle shot another kite, and later Carl Hansen and Skovgaard (the painter P. C. Skovgaard) arrived, and when Father, Aunt Lise and Nora had gone home, the rest played skittles, Pitch-and-Toss, Ring and Paradise, and just after 2, we drove home and slept until 6. In the evening, Father, Laura, Mille, Thora, Aunt Lise and Uncle Carl went to Tivoli, which opened that day, but Ludvig and I stayed at home and played Rambous.' (27-5-18449)

'The 24th: Did not go to Lange (the tutor). At 4 Father, Aunt Lise, Mille, Thora, Ludvig, Agnes, Jane and I drove out to Ludvigsløst. Some changes are to be made to the pig pens, as the dunghill is to be moved out to the field because it is damaging some apple trees where it is now. Ludvig, Jacob and I were busy digging a hole for the manure. Towards evening Capt. and Nicolai Bjerre came; at lunch the former had told about his trip to Sweden, and on the same occasion made a couple of crude remarks that Mille and Thora heard (brats).' (26-7-1844)

The country house and its surroundings were frequently shown to family from Denmark and abroad, friends and business associates. The land around the country house was used for entertainment, for example the newly-built bowling alley was often used, and the property also had a lookout point from which the sunset could be enjoyed.

The rest of the land around the house was used for a certain amount of production. The diary speaks of livestock such as pigs and rabbits. Fruit trees had been planted, and the family cultivated strawberries, various onions, beans, potatoes, cabbage, rye and oats. Information about the shooting of moles, rats, sparrows, storks and birds of prey testifies that the farm was taken seriously.

It seems likely that the crops or at least some of them were included in the operations of the family's restaurant in Copenhagen, in the same way as another

¹⁹⁴ Bøgh, C. *Landliggere i egen sommerbolig*, in Birkebæk, F. et al. (eds.) *Sommerglæder*, Arv og Eje 1985, p. 105.

country house owner in Hvidovre sixty years later used his garden crops in his restaurant in Lorry, Frederiksberg.¹⁹⁵

Country house life around the property close to the city involved the commuting element that later became the basis for the development of the infrastructure that was part of the rationale of the suburb. The modes of transport referred to in the diary range from the many walks HVB took from Østergade to Lampevejen. But otherwise the family's working carriage was used, an acquaintance's '*fine carriage*' was mentioned, a '*cab*', and finally the diary pointed forward by referring to occasional use of the '*Omnibus Jordkloden*' and '*Steam carriage*', which went from Amager Torv in Copenhagen to Frederiksberg Runddel from the beginning of the 1840s and later on through Frederiksberg City.¹⁹⁶



The foremost Danish cartoonist of the time, Fritz Jürgensen (1818-1863), illustrated the excitement with which a bourgeois family in Copenhagen awaited the arrival of the modern means of transport, the 'omnibus'. Jürgensen's family too had a country house in the countryside outside Copenhagen. Undated drawing.

Andersen, V. Fritz Jürgensen Tegninger, København 1919, pag 31

¹⁹⁵ Lorry-Feilberg, who ran the entertainment venue Lorry in Frederiksberg at the beginning of the 20th century, had bought the newly-constructed main building of Bredalsgården with about 6 acres of land as a country house under the name of Hvidborg. He cultivated vegetables there which were used in his restaurant. *Ernst Andersens Arkiv* P/7, XX, Forstads museet.

¹⁹⁶ Eberlin, A., *Frederiksberg*, 1888, p. 152

The sources do not let us determine whether the family had a plan to move permanently into the country house as early as the acquisition of the place. But the frequent trips between apartment and country house must have created a perception that the distance was short enough for it be possible to continue life in Frederiksberg in a way that would be satisfactory for an upper middle class urban family.

VALBY'S Periurban PHASE¹⁹⁷

The village of Valby was on the main road from Copenhagen to the west, and it was the first village travellers came to after Vesterport in Copenhagen. Village life was obviously influenced by proximity to Copenhagen, but in 1721 the 'real tradesmen' in Valby were authorized to trade not just with their own products on the market squares of Copenhagen, but also with goods they had bought elsewhere. This led to Valby's specialization in trading in fattened poultry, which they purchased in large parts of Zealand.

The poultry trade represented a development that mainly affected the size of the village's population and its social structure because it became possible for the smallholders to support themselves on very little land. It thus led to strong growth in the proportion of smallholders in relation to farm owners. In 1787 there were 17 farm owners but 86 smallholders in Valby in contrast to 27 farm owners and 23 smallholders in Hvidovre.¹⁹⁸

The first signs of a development that pointed away from the basic rural culture came in connection with enclosure. In 1781, just before the enclosures, a councillor purchased one of the farms with the aim of having it enclosed. The farm – quite characteristically for a property bought by a person outside the peasantry – was located in a beautiful landscape and as close to Copenhagen as possible.¹⁹⁹

Even before the farm was sold, a dancer from the Royal Theatre had bought a house in the village in 1779, and at the same time as the enclosure a piece of land was

¹⁹⁷ Where not otherwise stated, the section on Valby is based on Erslev, K. *Valby i Gamle dage – og nu*, 1949. Erslev was not a professional historian but his thorough work contains a wealth of factual information on the history of persons and properties in Valby.

¹⁹⁸ Rasmussen, K. W. *Folketælling 1787*, privately published 1989

¹⁹⁹ Frandsen, K. E., Kampp, Aa. H. and Larsen, K. A. *Valby, Nabo til Kongens København*, Tellus 1983, p. 18

purchased by a judicial councillor. The land was subsequently traded several times and in 1812 a country house was built on the site.

Over the next half century, on the one hand, Valby became the site of a growing summer-house culture, followed by a country house culture, and on the other hand a site for sales of farms to people who did not belong to the farmer class.

Summer residence and country house culture were in particular represented by members of upper middle-class cultural life in Copenhagen, such as Mrs Gyllembourg, Mrs Heiberg and the Price family, and the central point of the culture was in the eastern part of Valby closest to Copenhagen.

Incidentally, there was a similar development to the south in Kongens Enghave, where 22 properties were parcelled out in 1795. A major converted one of the farms there into a hobby farm around 1831,²⁰⁰ and another similar property belonged to the General Commissioner of War Neergaard.

Among the farms in Valby sold by the peasantry, one was bought by a merchant from Vordingborg (1827) with dreams of becoming a farmer, and one by a university graduate with an MA (1839) who had similar dreams. These are examples of an alternative direction of development that combined life as a farmer with the opportunity to maintain relations with the social classes in the city from which the owners came.

Country house culture in Valby culminated around the middle of the 19th century, but even in the second half of the century, a farmhouse was converted to accommodate summer residents. Simultaneously with the culmination of country house culture, the earliest sold farm, Bakkegården, was converted for industrial use, as it was part of the Carlsberg brewery, which was opened in 1847. It was not, however, Valby's earliest industrial enterprise, as a manufacturing plant had been established on Roskildevej as early as 1834.

The suburbs clearly arrived in Valby with the development projects of the first residential neighbourhood in the 1870s just west of the Carlsberg breweries. With its physical attachment to the centre of gravity of local country house culture, the early residential neighbourhood acquired a profile that appealed to the well-to-do classes. There is no doubt that the closeness to Frederiksberg Castle in eastern Valby helped to strengthen the attraction, while also Valby had the attractive south-facing side of Frederiksberg Bakke.

²⁰⁰ http://www.sydhavnenhistorie.dk/?page_id=310

Simultaneously with the arrival of the first villas, in 1870 when its large new cemetery opened in the south-east of Valby, the municipality of Copenhagen marked out Valby land as something that was now included in several areas for urbanization functions: industrial production, housing and general public uses.

The first blocks of flats with public housing were built around 1890, and after 1898 Valby was characterized by a greater number of building associations which, with state subsidies, built one- and two-family houses that are today part of Danish residential history, with housing association names such as 'Den hvide By' (White City), 'Lyset' (Light) and 'Den røde By' (Red City).

When it was incorporated in Copenhagen in 1901, Valby formally became a town, and as an outer district of Copenhagen, it was no longer a suburb in the sense statistics were working with. As a neighbourhood in Copenhagen, its association with royal Frederiksberg and the social spillover effect of this disappeared.

Following incorporation, Valby's development was dictated by the needs of Copenhagen in a development that moved in growth rings through the district of Valby so that the westernmost and southernmost parts were later urbanized.

However, in the following decades the southern low-lying parts maintained the character of a periurban zone with open potential, and its later use primarily for industrial and public purposes was decided at the political level. Valby's periurban phase started around the enclosures and was marked by middle-class culture. The development was reminiscent of Frederiksberg's, but the link with the royal castle seemed weaker, and there was a time lag compared with Frederiksberg in terms of the acceleration of urban development.

The first residential neighbourhood came fifteen years later, and apartment buildings arrived about three decades after they did in Frederiksberg. The periurban phase ended for central parts of Valby as early as around 1900. Early in the century, buildings, municipal land acquisition and planning defined the future physical structure farther out, and the emergence of a Social-Democrat majority in the municipality of Copenhagen in 1917 also framed the overall future the social structure.

The outer and later-developed parts of Valby were thus subject to the logic of a dawning planned society, where thinking in terms of zoning meant that areas took on the same character as the industrial areas that had already been laid out around the turn of the century.

With the introduction of the planning community, the periurban options moved from the market into the political/administrative universe where Copenhagen City Council defined land use.²⁰¹

VIGERSLEV'S Periurban PHASE²⁰²

Vigerslev, west of Valby and up towards Harrestrup Å, was a small village that had lost its direct access to the system of main roads at the beginning of the 18th century and was now distant from the thoroughfares.

Vigerslev did not have the same experience as Valby, which became attractive as a home to country house culture. A review of the village's few farms paints a completely different picture from the one found in Valby.

Of the eight farms that existed through the 19th century, half remained in the same family until the final subdivision after Vigerslev had been incorporated in Copenhagen. Among the other half, one farm with some land was sold in 1847, but otherwise remained in the family's possession until the final subdivision; one farm remained in the family but was farmed by tenants from the late 1800s until the subdivision; and in 1913 the original family sold one farm to a market gardener. Only two of eight farms were sold for non-agricultural purposes prior to the final subdivision in the urban context, one to a haulage contractor in 1870 and the next to an innkeeper in 1878.

This means that in Vigerslev not only did farming culture remain predominantly intact until the incorporation in Copenhagen, but the relationship between the original population and the place also remained strong until farming culture came to an end.

The periurban phase in Vigerslev was therefore shorter than in Valby, and it can be placed between 1870 and the period between the large urban planning competition in Copenhagen in 1908 and the Social Democrat takeover.

Vigerslev was in many ways an appendix to Valby, and in terms of social and physical structure the urban profile was therefore to a large extent defined by

²⁰¹ Knudsen, T. *Storbyen støbes*, 1988, p. 148.

²⁰² The information in this section is based on Udsholt, O. and O. *Vigerslev – landsbyen ved Harrestrupåen*, privately published, 1990

Valby's periurban development and the politically defined planning that the City of Copenhagen initiated in the years after the incorporation.

HVIDOVRE'S Periurban PHASE

At a distance of about 7 km from the squares of Copenhagen, Hvidovre was so close to the capital that parts of the culture of the village were influenced by the proximity. The population had been accustomed to being well informed, since the mail from Copenhagen to Vordingborg came through the village. For example, the farmers responded with a request to the king about the land reforms a few days after the decree had been adopted.²⁰³

Of the 303 people in Hvidovre who figured in the 1787 census, only one was listed as serving in Copenhagen. The rest of the population had occupations that belonged naturally in a traditional village: 25 male and female farm labourers, 1 female innkeeper, 7 craftsmen, 22 small farmers (including one who was also listed as a tradesman), 1 municipal clerk and a schoolmaster.²⁰⁴

Cultural and economic influences on the otherwise traditionally functioning farming community can naturally be traced in the immediate vicinity of the city (one example is the previously described church service, which was at times conducted from Copenhagen and later from Frederiksberg). In the early 19th century it was noted that farmers in Hvidovre as elsewhere near Copenhagen had abandoned growing traditional garden products in favour of buying them.²⁰⁵

Unlike Valby, which was three kilometres closer to Copenhagen, and, as mentioned, specialized in fattening poultry for the Copenhagen market,²⁰⁶ Hvidovre had no early-defined role in relation to the city. As was also the case with the neighbouring village of Vigerslev, which lay between Hvidovre and Valby, the village apparently attracted no interest of the kind that could lead to literary descriptions and subsequent commitment from the sectors of society who dominated and developed culture.

²⁰³ Dieckmann Rasmussen, J.: *Bønderne og udskiftningen*, 1977, p. 37

²⁰⁴ *Folketællingen 1787*, Rasmussen, K.W. 1989

²⁰⁵ Rasmussen, H. *Bønder og bondebyer i Københavns omegn* in Bure, K. ed. *Københavns omegn*, 1954, p. 34

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p 135-37

A nationwide development came to boost Hvidovre's periurban development. The land reforms came to Hvidovre with freehold and enclosure in the 1760s and 1770s.²⁰⁷ The revolutionary agrarian reforms changed the relationship between the classes and simultaneously created a brand new property market.

With private ownership and the individual farms established as independent properties and freestanding units of production, a new form of ownership and mode of operation had emerged. This enabled sales of individual whole farms and subdivided properties to people who no longer needed to be part of the old local community or have a personal relationship with the agricultural sector. This new market established one of the most essential preconditions for later suburb formation.²⁰⁸

Up through the 19th century, the new market was to transform Hvidovre. For hundreds of years it had been a closed joint operation which had supported itself with traditional agriculture. This changed to a socio-economic structure which, while remaining predominantly agricultural, also gave space to new stakeholder groups, cultures and production.

The periurban phase and its development elements in Hvidovre will be illustrated and analysed by focusing on:

- changes in farm ownership and modes of operation
- new land use and the emergence of new businesses/industries/activities
- developments in the occupational distribution of the local population
- housing development
- cultural conditions and changes²⁰⁹

When these matters are studied, the assumption is that it will be possible to date and characterize the periurban phase of potentiality in the process that led to the establishment of the suburb of Hvidovre.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Chapter 7 *Hvidovre – a brief account of its long history*

²⁰⁸ Harris, R., "How Land Markets Make and Change Suburbs", in Keil, R. (ed.) *Suburban Constellations*, jovis Verlag Berlin 2013, p 33: "... almost everywhere, is a land market. Not the market, because markets vary greatly in character, never corresponding to an ideal. But a market nonetheless, with private land tenure, negotiated prices, and government regulation. In these terms, suburban land is converted from rural to urban, allocated to users, and in time redeveloped. The operations are rarely visible, sales billboards being an exception, but it is restless markets that make and remake the suburbs."

²⁰⁹ This is mainly based on a diary (1882-88) from the property of Bredegård/Gammelgård, run by Hagbart Brusch.

CHANGES IN OWNERSHIP OF THE FARMS AND THEIR MODES OF OPERATION

When enclosure ended in 1779, all Hvidovre farms were operated by farmers who had the farm on a long lease and were residents of the village. However, the proprietor of the later Beringgård lived in and ran the inn Flaskekroen in Vigerslev just on the other side of the house-owners' association's boundary, as farm and inn were under joint ownership for long periods.

The quite unambiguous correlation between the local roots of the peasantry as de facto farm owners, their daily presence in the community and its relation to farming came under severe pressure throughout the following century. As examples of how radical the consequences of the new real estate market were for ownership and operations, I will follow in detail the development of four of the farms where development was most hectic. The examples illustrate how new activities, new crops, new social groups and new modes of operation were made possible by enclosure.

STRANDEGÅRD

The new market was visible in Hvidovre for the first time in 1790 in a manner that showed that new forces were in play.²¹⁰ Eleven years after the final enclosure of Hvidovre village in 1779, the first farm, Strandegård, which had acquired its land south of Køgevejen out to Kalveboderne as a result of its somewhat earlier enclosure in 1776, was sold. It was a rather small farm that acquired its value in the newly introduced property market by virtue of its location directly up to what contemporaries called "the old slipway", where a local common road gave access from Køgevej to the beach.

The buyer was Chamberlain Godske Hans von Krogh, who after a career at court had served as prefect, county governor and landowner. In Hvidovre, where all the farms had been crown land or owned by the University of Copenhagen, a noble owner was an innovation. Strandegård was made into an inherited tenancy with Chamberlain Jens With as tenant, while von Krogh's brother – a privy councillor and Master of the Royal Hunt, owned the property.

²¹⁰ The sections on Strandegård, Flaskekroen and Beringgård are based on Nordlund, H. and Sørensen, S., *Beringgård*, 1976, and the information about Holmegård in Thomsen, H., *Omkring Holmegården*, 2000. Details of the ownership of the other farms come from lists in P7, *Ernst Andersens Arkiv, læg 107-130*, Forstads museet.

Jens With took over the tenancy of Strandegård in 1797 and immediately entered into a contract with a linen-weaver in Copenhagen to cultivate flax and hemp on 10 acres of the farmlands. The tenancy came to an end after five years, but the cultivation project had become so successful that in 1799 it was awarded first prize by the Royal Danish Agricultural Society for its flax harvest.

Strandgård was clearly not bought to be part of a large aristocratic land complex, because in 1806 it was sold to the Treasury. The Treasury appointed the M. F. Voigt, steward of Frederiksberg Castle, to administer the farm.

Voigt was by no means a random choice. In 1794 he had purchased one of Hvidovre's large farms, Holmegården, where he laid out a large garden on the rich soil – allegedly as a preliminary to the Romantic park at the castle of Frederiksberg.



The pilot station was established in 1808 by the end of the ancient road, that gave the farmers in Hvidovre access to the sea. Oil by 'J.J.' from 1897. The pilot boat is launched. In the background The pilot station and Strandegård.

Forstads museet B18218

Voigt was also a third-generation castle steward at Frederiksberg, had horticultural training and was closely associated with the Royal Danish Agricultural Society. It is unclear whether the prize for the flax harvest at Strandgård had any connection with this. Voigt, who owned Holmegård until 1810, did not move to Hvidovre, but ran the farm through his employees.

Voigt managed Strandgård for five years up to 1811, when the farm was sold at auction to Secretary Gede. Gede received the deed to the property in 1814. He was part of the administration of the absolute monarchy and had a good career that was crowned with the title of Commissioner of War and Secretary-in Chief of the Admiralty Council.

Prior to the auctioning of Strandegård, the pilot station Kalvebodernes Lodseri had been created by royal charter and located on the land of the farm in 1808. Without a study of the administrative procedures associated with the Council's purchase of the farm, Voigt's administration of the property, the creation of the pilot station and Secretary Gede's subsequent purchase of the farm, respectively, it cannot be established with any certainty whether the whole transaction process took place in a closed circle, but the coincidence of Gede's career in the Navy and the Navy's administration of pilotage services is striking.

Equally striking is the simultaneous creation of a lime plant next door to the pilot station, simultaneously with the establishment of the station itself. The owners of the Rosendal Estate, Danneskjold Samsøe and the von Holstein brothers, through an exchange agreement (*magelæg*) with Gede, acquired an area at Strandegård's southern boundary with direct access to the Hvidovre farmers' traditional access route to the beach and the pier, which was constructed for the pilot station.

There was then a new cultural environment, which basically existed completely detached from the rest of the community, at the coast of Hvidovre towards Kalveboderne and with easy road access to Copenhagen via Køgevejen. The old farmland was now included in industrial production, and to support traffic at sea, the owners of both the farm and the lime works did not live locally. The lime-burning firing at lime plant was carried out by workers from Holstein, the raw materials for the lime works in the form of lime and fuel came from the outside, and the burnt lime was shipped from the landing quay.

Only the pilot, who worked both on the water and at the lime works as a warden, eventually became part of the local community. The small industry remained there on the coast for the next half century without seeming to be integrated into local life.

From 1790, when the last local owner sold the property to von Krogh, there were no two generations of the same family on the farm. In 1828, Gede sold the rest of Strandgård to a farmer who took up residence in Hvidovre. In 1844, he sold the farm to a senior barrister, who resold it to Andreas Heinrich Thomsen in 1857. In 1863, it passed to a rentier, P. S. Lassen, who in turn sold it to Jens Egholm

Rasmussen in 1868. Rasmussen already owned the neighbouring property, Beringgård (Flaskekroen), after which it became part of the development history of this property.

HOLMEGÅRDEN

Holmegård farthest north in Hvidovre had been purchased, as mentioned, by the steward Voigt in 1794 and was to experience a similar turbulent development – albeit with more local presence of the various owners. Voigt sold it on in 1807, and after a few quick changes of ownership, the farm was bought in 1810 by the royal aide and later Lieutenant General, Wolfgang von Haffner.



Holmegård is among the few farms in Hvidovre where a substantial part of the buildings from have survived in a shape that communicates the agricultural past.

Forstads museet B11696

He never took up residence on the farm, but used it to accommodate his mistress. She lived on the farm until 1819 and bore him several illegitimate children before she finally married him that year and advanced from Holmegården in Hvidovre to the Egholm estate at Vellerup Vig, which Haffner had bought in 1812. Hvidovre's meeting with the culture of the nobility in this form must have been new to the population, who as Crown peasants had not previously been exposed to the cultural norms of the aristocracy.

Holmegård thus had links to the court in the first decades of the 19th century, but after a two-year interlude following von Haffner's sale in 1829, it was bought by the merchant Michael Andersen Kierkegaard, a Copenhagen cloth merchant. The farm was now run by a farm hand until Kierkegaard's death in 1853. Kierkegaard's purchase in Hvidovre may well have been inspired by his brother Michael A. Kierkegaard's (father of Søren Kierkegaard) ownership of Priorgården from 1813 to 1833 in the neighbouring village of Brøndbyøster.²¹¹

The farm remained in the family, since the grandson Fritz Faber took it over and moved in with the title of *proprietær* (large farmer), because more land was bought under his maternal grandfather. The ownership was short-lived as he died in 1856, after which his mother sold the farm in 1858 to Major Messerschmidt, who had connections to the Copenhagen tanning industry. Messerschmidt also took up permanent residence in Holmegård until 1870, when he sold the farm again.

The new owner, Jens C. Ostensfeld, was a farmer and land speculator. He did not move in, but ran the farm through a man from Holstein who rented it and largely employed Swedish staff. In the years prior to this, Ostensfeld had been engaged in real estate development in Valby, where he had helped to develop the earliest residential neighbourhoods, but he had also been engaged in municipal council work in Hvidovre-Valby municipality with a starting point in Valby.

Ostensfeld owned the farm for four years, after which he sold it to the Wrem family, who moved in and ran the farm themselves for 17 years until 1891. Then the farm was sold again, but now to the farm's own dairy tenant. His family owned and ran the farm until 1917, after which it became part of the general subdivision development, where in rapid succession a series of owners not resident in the municipality parcelled out and sold the remaining land of the farm.

FLASKEKROEN/BERINGGÅRD

The land of Flaskekroen was north east of Strandegård along Køgevejen as a part of Hvidovre, but it was run from the inn, which was located on the north side of Harrestrup Å, the border between the Hvidovre and Vigerslev house-owners' associations.

The property was unusual compared with the other farms in Hvidovre. As a farm, it was connected with the royal privileged inn from 1728, which was nearly three kilometres from the village. So from even before the enclosure, Flaskekroen was

²¹¹ Hollensen, L, *Analyse af gårdhandler i Brøndbyøster*, Forstadmuseet

outside the community in a social and geographical sense. In addition, the first innkeeper was an estate manager and belonged to a different social class from the farmers who had the other farms in the village community. The farm and the inn remained in the family of the estate manager, who came from northern Jutland, when the possibility of enclosure from the community came in 1770.

During a dramatic and irreconcilable conflict with the majority among the other farmers, the farmer and innkeeper Anders Jensen has his lands enclosed in 1770 almost ten years before enclosure was finally completed in Hvidovre.²¹²



Flasekroen owed its existence to a royal charter from the beginning of the 18th century. Despite being placed in Vigerslev it had its lands in Hvidovre which were run as one of the farms there. The owner of the inn took the initiated the enclosure in Hvidovre.

Forstadsmuseet B184

When Anders Jensen died, followed by his widow in 1789, the farm was sold to a farmer from Vanløse who ran it until 1810. This was followed by a phase of rapid changes of ownership around the time of the national bankruptcy in 1814. The farm was sold in 1810, twice in 1812, in 1814 and again in 1815. The owners included a former innkeeper, a royal distiller, a merchant and master builder, and a lieutenant.

²¹² See chapter 7

After a turbulent period, the farm was owned and operated by the district commissioner H. C. Selchou, who lived on the farm, and he and later his widow ran it until 1845 when Royal Orchestra musician T.C. Bjerregaard bought it but did not farm it himself. He owned the farm until 1849. The next owner was a grocer in Copenhagen who owned the farm until 1852, when the theological graduate B. J. Werlauff took it over to sell it to Commissioner N. T. Koefoed in 1856. In 1859 the large farmer and director of the savings bank Sjællandske Creditkasse J. E. Rasmussen bought the farm. He ran it himself until 1881 and then sold it to a distant relative, C. P. Schrader, whose son rented it from him.

The next sale did not take place until 1901, when the butter merchant J. C. Lembrecht from Copenhagen bought the farm but let it be run by the same tenant as the previous owner, a leasing relationship that lasted until 1920. Lembrecht bought the farm in order to establish a butter-packing plant, but the plan was abandoned as the distance to Copenhagen was too great. The location at Køgevejen was otherwise an appealing one from the point of view of transport, but the quality of the road was presumably too poor. During the 19th century, the old road had been given the status of a municipal road, but access to bicycles had not yet reached a level where workers at the butter-packing plant could be expected to use one to get to work.

The farm began to be subdivided in 1918 with the adoption of the first development plan, and then the bulk of the farmland was subdivided for a residential area with mostly single-family houses.

FRIHEDEN²¹³

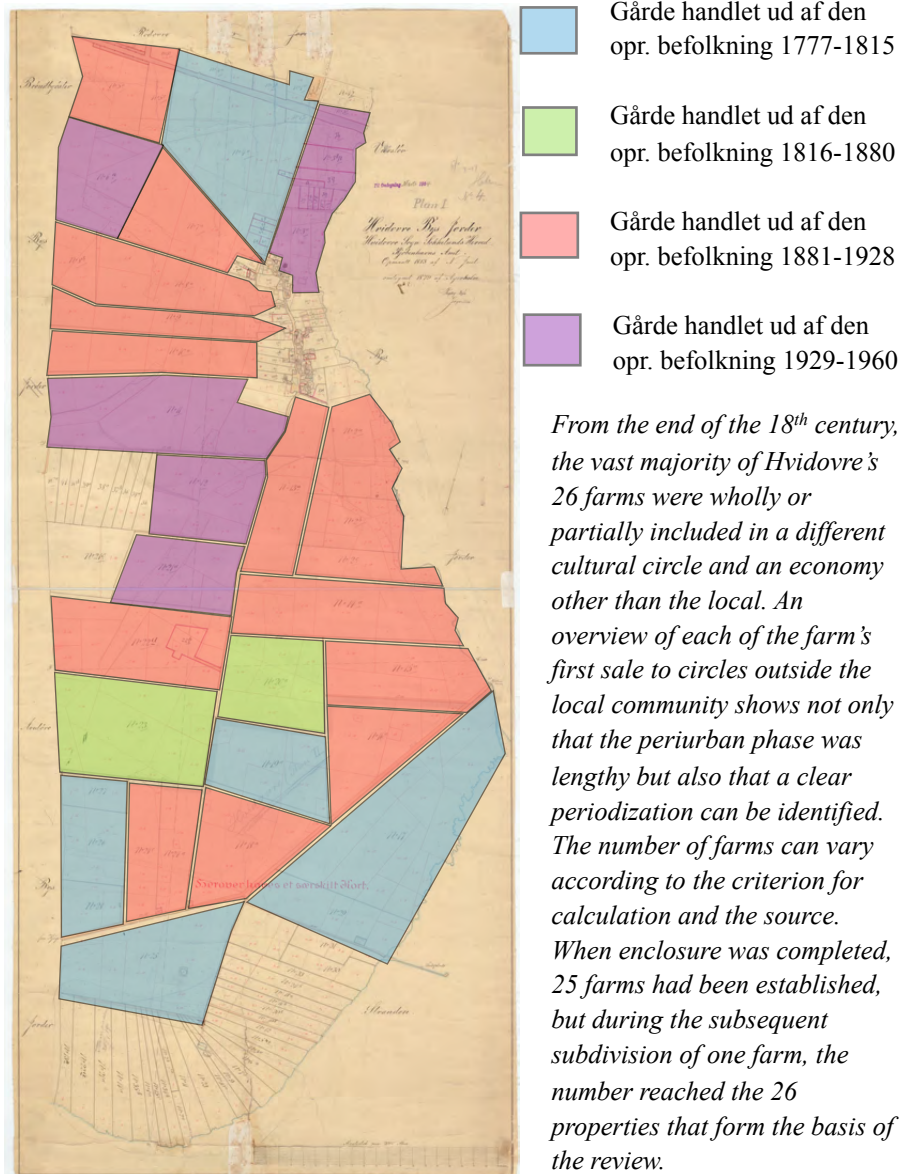
The farm with the later name of Friheden was the third of Hvidovre's farms to be enclosed in the years prior to the final enclosure of the village. In the period from the late 18th century to 1929, when it was sold out of the local peasantry and finally sold to the City of Copenhagen, the farm had 14 different owners. There was great variety among the owners in terms of education and occupational background: a master tanner, a dean, a lawyer, a bricklayer, a tax assessor, a large farmer, a haulier, a drainage master, a factory owner and a horse dealer.

The average period of ownership of less than ten years included periods of very rapid change of ownership interspersed with several long-term ownerships, of which the last three owners covered 60 of the approximately 130 years. The farm's

²¹³ Dieckmann Rasmussen, J.: *Bønderne og udskiftningen*, 1977. The name of the farm refers to its dramatic subdivision history. The owner chose to call it Frie Gård (Free Farm), when after several years of struggle he finally escaped from joint operation with the other farm owners in the village.

subdivision history places it in a small group of farms that were sold in one lot to the end user.

THE HVIDOVRE FARMS IN THE Periurban PHASE



This list gives the overview of the year of the first-time sale of Hvidovre farms outside the local cultural circle – in the sense that they were sold to persons with another main occupation or from a different class.

Land registry no. 4	Holmegård	1794
Land registry no. 29	Strandegård	1800
Land registry no. 19	Svendbjerggård	1800
Land registry no. 25	Friheden	1805
Land registry no. 17	Beringgård	1810
Land registry no. 26	Skelgården	1813
Land registry no. 23	Bredegård	1833
Land registry no. 20	Gammelgård	1861
Land registry no. 5	Magistergården	1883
Land registry no. 16	Hvidovregård	1884
Land registry no. 22	Bredalsgården	1896
Land registry no. 2	Stengården	1901
Land registry no. 13	Eriksminde	1901
Land registry no. 14	Risbjerggård	1908
Land registry no. 8	Højgård	1909
Land registry no. 9	Bakkegård	1910
Land registry no. 18	Dansborggård	1914
Land registry no. 24	Stenshavegård	1914
Land registry no. 15	Torstensgården	1917
Land registry no. 10	Baunebakkegård	1918
Land registry no. 7	Kirkeværgens Gård	1919
Land registry no. 12	Sønderkær	1929
Land registry no. 11	Spurvegården	1932
Land registry no. 21	Høvedstensgården	1935
Land registry no. 6	Nørregård	1951
Land registry no. 3	Åstrupgård	1960

Forstadmuseet P7, Ernst Andersens Arkiv, 107-130

FIRST WAVE – ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE

In the first decades after the emergence of the market for farms, a quarter of Hvidovre's farms were sold out of the community up to the time of the national bankruptcy in 1813. This was followed by a long period that extended until the early 1880s, when only two farms were sold. Then a new intense period began when almost half of the farms were transferred to non-local ownership between 1883 and 1919. The final five farms were then sold between 1929 and 1960, when the last original farmer's family sold the remains of the farm.

The earliest phase is characterized by the fact that not only was agricultural land sold, but new businesses were also introduced in the form of the lime- and

brickworks and the pilot station, as well as new crops, new social classes and new cultural norms. The farms that were sold during this period changed hands frequently, and several were subdivided yet again to form smaller properties. The activities demonstrated fully the completely open opportunities that were available in Hvidovre with the arrival of the new market: industry, service, country house culture and investment.

The localization of the six farms that were sold during this period is also characterized by the buyers' ease of access to Copenhagen, and in one case to Frederiksberg. The five farms all had direct access to Køgevejen, while the first owner of Holmegården in the northernmost part of Hvidovre had easy access to Frederiksberg castle via Roskildevej, and the farm was on a military route that was used for exercises. On the other hand, this meant that the changes did not affect the entire central part of the homeowners' association with the village.

AN INTERVENING PERIOD

Growth in new activities ceased with the national bankruptcy, and until the early 1880s, only two farms were sold out of the community. Both farms remained working farms until just before the First World War, and some of the various owners worked the farms themselves.

From 1861, the two farms had the same owner and were operated as one large farm. During that period one farm was only inhabited by a cattleman. In 1908 it was this farm that provided the land for the first mass subdivision for holiday homes.

SECOND WAVE – URBAN OUTLOOK

The biggest group of farms, which included half of the homeowner association's 26 farms, became part of the new process with sales in the period between 1883 and 1919. In the early part of the period, the sales did not result in significant changes in land use and there were no new industrial initiatives.

In the subsequent period, further subdivision of plots for horticultural operation increased and, as mentioned, the subdivision of summer-house plots began in 1908. New owner types in the form of consortia and joint stock companies appeared in this period. This meant that in 1890 alone a quarter of the farms were inhabited by servants/tenants or were operated by a tenant or a steward. Speculative purchases occurred towards the end of the period, when the buyers started a development process immediately after making their investment.

The strongly accelerating growth in property speculation in Hvidovre in this period was closely connected with the explosive growth in population in the two metropolitan municipalities, Copenhagen and Frederiksberg. The population of the two municipalities increased from 266,000 in 1880 to 469,000 in 1901. However, the growth of the urban population was in fact even bigger, as, for example, the Valby part of the Hvidovre-Valby municipality more than doubled from 2898 to 7042 in the same period,²¹⁴ and there was even greater growth north of Copenhagen in Gentofte. Similarly, the Brønshøj part of the Rødovre municipality experienced population growth.

The explosive development in Valby inevitably put pressure on the property market in Hvidovre. In Valby, agricultural land had been converted to urban purposes other than residence – for example industry and public purposes.

The subsequent emergence of, not least, building societies in Valby around 1900 pointed to a possible new future use of the land of Hvidovre's farms, and the idea of rapid urbanization was also behind the unrealized plans for industrial use of one of the farms.²¹⁵

THE END

The last five farms whose ownership changed hands out of the rural community painted yet another new picture. Two of the farms were purchased by the City of Copenhagen (which had earlier bought one farm that had previously passed out of local ownership), and one farm was purchased by the Hvidovre municipality. Of the last two farms, one was subdivided for single-family homes in the 1950s, and the other was gradually subdivided up through the 20th century for mixed purposes: commercial, single-family houses and blocks of flats. When the farm burned down in the early 1960s, the connection between the original farming culture and the local population came to an end. Almost symbolically, this was precisely the farm that had been in the same family for over 200 years.

Over the more than hundred-year period between the sale of the first farm to an ownership that meant the owner's absence from the local community and/or new use of the property, a complex picture of processes and forms emerged. However, overall there was an increasing number of properties whose ownership and function were influenced by hidden urbanization.

²¹⁴ www.kk.dk/~media/93F2088B75F741DF942D02ADF6288D8E.ashx

²¹⁵ Nordlund, H., Sørensen, S., *Beringgård*, 1976, pp. 19-20.

From a state of affairs in which all farm owners lived on the farm after enclosure, in 1845 there were four farms that were operated by a manager or tenant, and in 1890 four farms continued to be operated by a tenant. However, in addition to this, two more farms, through a merger, were without a caretaker, a manager or a tenant farmer.

The review of ownership shows a clear pattern according to which the first farms were investment objects for the nobility and upper middle-class Copenhagen citizens soon after the market was created.

NEW ACTIVITY

One of the new phenomena in Hvidovre was country house culture, which – although it did not achieve a significant breakthrough – could be found in several variants. In one case, a farm was purchased and used by the owner for summer or year-round residence, while a lessee or manager operated the farm itself. In another case, the farm was subdivided for residential purposes.²¹⁶

In the second half of the 18th century, as already mentioned, country house culture had made an impact on the northern outskirts of Copenhagen and nearby Frederiksberg. In Valby south of Frederiksberg, in 1834, the topographer Sterm listed seven country houses,²¹⁷ and by about 1800 Valby had already been influenced by its proximity to Frederiksberg Castle and the nascent summer residence culture in Frederiksberg.

Parts of the summer residence culture in Valby are well documented²¹⁸ because the cultural life of the capital was well represented in the immediate vicinity of the village. But as early as 1782 the first Valby farm was sold out of the peasantry to the Director of the Mint, Hans Knoph. The year before a house in the village had been sold to a dancer from the Royal Theatre, so the market not only emerged after the enclosure, but was also very quickly exploited.

With the sale of Holmegård in 1810 to the steward Voigt, country house culture also came to Hvidovre, but it took a long time to become more widespread – probably not least because of the cumbersome transportation systems, which meant that the seven kilometres to Copenhagen made permanent residence with simultaneous employment in Copenhagen difficult.

²¹⁶ Thomsen, H. C., *Omkring Holmegården*, Hvidovre Lokalhitoriske Arkiv 2000, p. 15.

²¹⁷ Sterm, 1834

²¹⁸ Erslev, K. *Valby i Gamle Dage – og nu*, 1949, pp. 24-178.

The first subdivision of a parcel for a country house in Hvidovre only took place in 1900, when Bredalsgård's new main building was sold along with a five-acre garden. The buyer was a restaurateur in Frederiksberg, Lorry-Feilberg,²¹⁹ who combined the country house function with deliveries of vegetables from the garden to his restaurant.

LIME WORKS AND PILOT STATION

In 1808 a small group of persons from the higher circles of society (Secretary Gjedde from the Chancellery and Count Christian Conrad Sophus Danneskiold-Samsøe)²²⁰ opened a lime works, Vestre Kalkværk, and a brickworks, Strandegårds Teglværk, at the place on Hvidovre coast known as "den gamle landingsbro" (the old pier).

The background was Copenhagen's need for building materials, and the reason for the choice of location was probably connected with the conditions for navigation, as the complicated navigation channel "Sorterende" through Kalveboderne from Køge Bugt to the approach to Copenhagen's southern port came close to the shore there.

Good navigation conditions were needed for the new industry because the lime that was to be processed came from Rosendal, the estate belonging to Danneskjold-Samsøe, who owned part of the limestone quarry in Faxe. The initiative was completely without local roots and had no impact on local employment, because the specialized work of processing was left to workers from Holstein.

On the other hand, the location of the new industry made the central government aware of navigation conditions in Kalveboderne, so simultaneously with the establishment of the industry permission was granted to create a pilot station on site, Kalvebodernes Lodseri. The pilot station added an institution to Hvidovre, and it eventually became part of the community unlike the people behind the industry or even its workers. Neither the census for Hvidovre of 1834 nor that of 1840 listed citizens connected with the lime and brick factory, but limestone processing was seasonal work, and the temporary workers were gone or had transferred to other jobs at the time of the census in February.

²¹⁹ Magnussen, L., Sverrild, P., *Bredalsparken 1949-89*, 1989, p. 6.

²²⁰ Ownership can be seen on the subdivision map from 1808, which also shows the size of the plant. Forstadsmuseets kortsamling.



Within the first generation after the enclosure and about forty years after the ownership of the farms in Hvidovre were transferred from the crown to the farming families new activities beyond farming were introduced. By the coast where the main activity for centuries had been the harvest of reed an industry was now placed close by a new jetty.

The British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 created a booming market for bricks and mortar, and ovens for both were built by Hvidovres coast. The industry lasted less than half a century and never became part of local life. Ownership and work-force was connected to Copenhagen and Holsten.

Section of navy-chart from 1810 showing the jetty and the mortar-mills just above. On the right the inn 'Flaskekroen' is marked.

www.hkpn.gst.dk

The lime and brick factories continued to operate under the original owners until 1843, when they were leased. It appears from the lease that the pilot, who lived next to the plant, was to oversee the processing and check whether the conditions were met.²²¹

The pilot station had a significantly longer life, survived the lengthy downgrading of the southern approach to the Port of Copenhagen and was first closed in 1954

²²¹ Nielsen, A.: *Industriens Historie i Danmark*, vol. III, 1944, p. 181.

when commercial shipping at Kalveboderne had reached a level that could not sustain the enterprise.²²²



The pilot station in Hvidovre appeared in the yellow press of the time when a broadsheet ballad in 1838 about the unfaithful pilot was distributed. Thus the introduction of new activities to rural Hvidovre at the same time brought on negative aspects of modernity.

'A new and sad song about the unfaithful Hans Pilot in Kallebodstrand'

HORTICULTURE

The emergence of new businesses as an extension of farming was equally significant in volume and in its symbiosis with the rapidly growing capital. The development of market gardening and dairy farming in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries led to subdivision for production plots and housing.

The earliest market gardening venture in the vicinity of Hvidovre came in 1812 when Det Kongelige Danske Landhusholdningsselskab (the Royal Danish

²²² Christensen, S.M.: *En retsindig og ordentlig Mand i hele sit Forhold*, Siden saxo 19. Volume no. 1, 2002

Agricultural Society) established a nursery in Avedøre. The state-supported initiative was intended to improve the farmers' understanding of the value of cultivating fruit and berries. The company had to abandon the nursery in the early 1830s, after which the state operated it for the next decade through the planter Hans Hansen.²²³ Thus it was not a true commercial market garden of the kind that appeared in the last part of the century.

The framework for the emergence and growth of a local commercial sector for the market garden, the dairy and fishery was created by the regulation of 23 April 1843, which gave all classes of property owners in rural districts from the farm servant to the farmers the right to sell both self-produced products and products bought from agriculture, horticulture and fishing enterprises in the market towns.²²⁴

The scene was thus set for a market response to population growth in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg. At that point, Hvidovre had had a number of people employed in horticulture for some time, but commercial market gardens were only established in Hvidovre later. The census of 1860 listed five people working in horticulture, a figure that had grown to at least 14 in 1901, and in 1904 the number of market gardens had risen to 12.²²⁵

Market gardening continued to expand in Hvidovre in the first decades of the 20th century, and for a period in the early 20th century it was the dominant agricultural sector. At the same time, the industry developed economically and politically, since at the beginning of the century the gardeners were politically represented in the municipal council minority, which was elected by the general part of the electorate. A few decades later the gardeners were on the Conservative Party list nominated by the landowning voters, most strikingly represented by the municipal council chairman Carl Larsen in the 1920s during the fight against the newcomers.²²⁶

In 1901 several gardeners in Hvidovre, according to the census, still had a sideline occupation working as farm hands or pilots, or renting out threshing machines. But

²²³ www.forstadsmuseet.dk *Gartneriet Ny Plantage*.

²²⁴ *Danske Gartnerivirksomheder I-III, 1934-36, p. 170*.

²²⁵ Sverrild, P. *Hvidovre Landsogn*, 1981, pp. 56-57. There is some uncertainty about the terminology; some of those who called themselves 'agriculturalists' in reality had market gardens. The 14 are therefore persons for whom the term 'market garden' is included in their designation of occupation. The terms for the use of the 12 properties are divided between 'market garden' and 'horticulture'.

²²⁶ Cf. Chapter 12 Land use, summerland and shantytown

the growth of the Copenhagen market was explosive and changed the financial conditions of the industry in a positive direction. One example is the sale of flowers in Copenhagen, which grew from DKK 1.5 million in 1900 to DKK 3.25 million in 1914.²²⁷

Alongside the subsequent subdivision for summer-house plots, from 1908 market gardens continued to be subdivided, By 1936 there were 17 active market gardens in Hvidovre, and some had even closed in the intervening years. In the middle of the 1930s, when the industry was a couple of generations old, it was noted that experience showed that market gardens had a limited lifetime as they were displaced by urbanization within a period of 40-50 years.²²⁸

DAIRY FARMING

Dairy farming was one of the significant new businesses that appeared in Hvidovre around the end of the 19th century. The specialization of which dairy farming was an expression became possible partly because of the amended trading laws from the mid-1800s, which gave smallholders and the like the opportunity to acquire, process and sell agricultural products to the cities.

On the one hand the Copenhagen milk market grew with the rapid population growth in the city, and finally Copenhagen's own production of milk declined sharply in the same period. By 1900 the Copenhagen 'factory cows' covered only 7% of the city's consumption as against 23% twenty years previously, and around the turn of the century dairy tenants and independent operators delivered one third of the whole Copenhagen milk supply.²²⁹

The Copenhagen milk market increased in step with the city's rapid growth, and at the same time the production of milk in Copenhagen itself fell, making the commercial potential attractive to the region's dairy farmers. The city's extensive market and its proximity were quite decisive for the way the industry was organized in the entire surroundings of Copenhagen.

One looks in vain for buildings with the cooperative dairy's characteristic high chimney and loading ramp, because the nearby market meant that the volume of

²²⁷ *Danske Gartnerivirksomheder I-III, 1934-36*, p. 43.

²²⁸ *Danske Gartnerivirksomheder I-III, 1934-36*, p. 101.

²²⁹ Lando, Z.D., *Mælkehandel*, Copenhagen 1938, p. 110.

production and sales was enough to maintain the individual processing and distribution of milk products.



The dairy tenancy 'Vestborg' in Hvidovre, 1900. It was a characteristic of this kind of business to have a separate building for processing the milk and housing pigs that lived off the household-waste which was brought back from Copenhagen on the milk-carts after selling the milk in town.

Forstads museet B13636

The dairy tenancies were a hallmark of the Copenhagen catchment area, and they deal with the task of supplying the growing city so well that they prevented the otherwise common form of organization in agriculture, the cooperative, from gaining a foothold here. In the long term their competitors were the large industrial dairies located within Copenhagen.²³⁰

Scores of small private dairies were opened in the Copenhagen area in the second half of the 19th century. The milk was carefully processed in milk cellars, where the cream was separated from the milk, and then the milk and cream were transported

²³⁰ In 1901, I. G. Schmidt, the director of one of the large dairies in the capital, Trifolium, in the early years of the 20th century bought two farms in Hvidovre with a view to later subdivision.

to Copenhagen the following day and sold directly to customers by the dairy farms' drivers. The length of the sales routes in the city meant that the drivers had to change horses along the way.

Dairy farming was introduced in Hvidovre in two forms. Some farms had in-house solutions where dairy farming remained part of the operation of the farm, sometimes with a dairy tenant located on the farm or otherwise with a milk driver. Independent dairy farms were also established on properties where the owner had an arrangement to buy milk from one or more farms. The industry culminated in Hvidovre around 1890, when it was the direct source of income for six households. Then it declined and by 1901 it had been halved to three households.

The small dairy farms in the Copenhagen area were finally abolished centrally with the introduction of the Greater Copenhagen Milk Scheme in the 1930s. Dairy farming was often paired with pig farming, since the milk tenants brought the waste back from Copenhagen to feed their animals.²³¹

FISHERIES

The coast of Hvidovre towards Kalveboderne consisted of meadows bordered by extensive reed beds with two access roads to the water for the farmers. It cannot be documented that farmers in Hvidovre exploited the rich fish stocks of Kalveboderne in older times, but the extent of the fish resources is documented through the existence of the medieval herring market on the coast, Vindebode,²³² and later, in the early 19th century, sealing at Avedøre Holme documented that there were abundant resources.²³³

However, there is no evidence of fishing from the Hvidovre coast since the medieval herring fisheries up to the 1870 census documented the presence of the industry for the first time. Fishing improved in the following period until the first decades of the 20th century. The combination of the extended freedom of trade from the mid-1800s and the growing population in Copenhagen secured this new business opportunity.

²³¹ The history of dairy farming and the situation with the supply of milk around Copenhagen up to the introduction of the Greater Copenhagen Milk Scheme are described in: Lando, Z.: *Mælkehandel*, 1938.

²³² Jønsson, J. H.: *Kulturhistorisk oversigt, middelalderen*, p. 64, 2002.

²³³ Sverrild, P., *Sælfangeren fra Avedøre* in Sverrild, P., Thomsen, H. C., *52 historier fra Hvidovre*, 1997, pp. 34-35.

Fishing took place from the old landing place, which was modernized in 1808 in connection with the establishment of the plot station Kalvebodernes Lodseri and the lime- and brickworks, and a drying ground was also established there. The newly-arrived fishermen naturally settled down in the vicinity and built several houses along the road that led from Køgevejen down to the pilot station.



Fisherman August Larsen by the coast of Hvidovre around 1895. In the second half of the 19th century the fisheries developed at the old landing place where only the pilot station has survived the development at the beginning of the century.

Forstadsmuseet B44

Two lived by fishing from the coast of Hvidovre in 1890, and the number had increased to six in 1901. The absence of a local tradition for fishing was probably one of the reasons that two of the fishing families who fished in Hvidovre in 1901 were of Swedish origin. Another one came from a northern Zealand municipal; it was thus a profession that meant inward migration of labour.

As was the case with dairy farming, a great deal of the fishermen's produce was sold door-to-door in Copenhagen.

The fishermen's activities at Hvidovre Strand were also supplemented by a stone fisherman whose business was entirely dependent on the Copenhagen market.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE LOCAL POPULATION²³⁴

The periurban process that was reflected in changes in property holdings throughout the 1800s was not accompanied by entirely similar shifts in the occupations of the population. Neither the 1787 nor the 1801 census showed any persons employed

²³⁴ *Folketællinger 1777-1911, Hvidovre Sogn*, Forstadsmuseet and Statens Arkiver

outside the scope of a traditional Danish village of the time. It was only in 1834, when Hvidovre contained 90 households, that non-rural businesses appeared. No fewer than six tradesmen now lived in Hvidovre, and there was also a watchman who worked in Copenhagen. It was mainly due to an increasing absence of farm owners and the introduction of the tenant farmer class that the process was recognizable.

In 1860 there was a significant new occupational spread among the 98 households that were now there. There were only four tradesmen left, but on the other hand the group of people working in occupations that were directly based on the Copenhagen market was very significant. Eight now supported themselves by fishing, and five by market gardening. That year another 13 worked with handicrafts.

In 1880 the Copenhagen labour market was clearly present in the census. With workplaces such as Carlsberg and the Zoo and occupations such as printer, foreman and one person who worked at a brickworks, the commuter had arrived, although there were only a few – a mere nine persons that can definitely be said to work in Copenhagen.

Fisheries were in decline, but market gardening grew and had been joined by dairy farming, so the three groups had increased from 13 to 19.

In the 1901 census, the population had dropped from 580 twenty years earlier to 559. The mechanization of agriculture²³⁵ had made huge inroads in the number of agricultural labourers, more than offsetting the growth in market gardening, which was otherwise more labour-intensive. The vast majority of employees still worked in agriculture, and there was not yet any significant growth in commuters in the last decades of the 19th century.

Finally, the 1911 census showed that periurban development had changed direction and had entered a new phase in which the potential for action began to be curtailed. The population was once more growing, now to 689 inhabitants, and with the first mass subdivisions before 1910 Hvidovre was in the process of becoming home to a leisure population residing mainly in the municipality of Copenhagen.

The development towards a summer-house area was naturally not mirrored in the occupational distribution of the local population. This still showed continued slow development under the impact of the capital's labour market, which had begun to

²³⁵ This census contains no fewer than three owners of threshers in Hvidovre.

make commuting possible. But Hvidovre was still an agriculture-based society dominated by jobs in agriculture and market gardening.

DEVELOPMENT IN BUILDING ACTIVITY

Throughout the 19th century, the reconstruction of burned-down farmhouses was the most conspicuous building activity. There were few buildings that could be attributed to a periurban development, and they were primarily constructed around the turn of the two centuries covered by this chapter.

The introduction of the first industry in the early 1800s resulted only in the construction of two kilns for firing. The pilot station, built at the same time, which played a role in supervising the firing, required accommodation for the pilot, but on the other hand no homes seem to have been built for the workers who took care of production.



A number of the village houses with only small lots were turned into market gardens during the second half of the 19th century. The market for vegetables was ever-growing due to the population-growth in Copenhagen. Market garden in Hvidovregade under demolition around 1950.

Forstadsmuseet B5979

The early market gardens that came in the second half of the 19th century did not change the nature of settlement or culture in Hvidovre, as most of the residential and farm buildings initially followed the smallholder customs. It was only after the turn of the century that the market gardens helped to introduce villa aesthetics to the rural community. Similarly, the fishermen settled in houses that were close to the existing building culture, and some dairy farms were directly linked to the farms that supplied milk to the dairies.

The construction of the first multi-storey residential building with small apartments on the road between Hvidovre and Vigerslev village in 1899 ushered in changes that contradicted the Copenhagen municipality's assumption that there would be no urban development in Hvidovre for a long time. The solitary high-rise was followed by yet another in Hvidovregade in 1901, but several decades then passed before the next appeared. Thus, in terms of classic urban building traditions in the form of multi-storey buildings, the Copenhageners were right. Nevertheless, it did not mean the end of urban development, but that its direction turned to more modern forms in keeping with the foremost trend of the time, the house with garden.

EMPLOYMENT

In general the employment situation for the population of Hvidovre followed the same pattern of movement from a purely agricultural society to a more complex social structure. A review of the 1840 census for Hvidovre shows that out of a population of 495, 205 are listed as being in business, and 173 of them were directly engaged in agriculture, one of these at a market garden. Added to this were 21 craftsmen whose business activity was linked to agriculture or had traditionally been present in the village: occupations such as wheelwright, blacksmith, cobbler, tailor, weaver and needle worker.

The remaining 11 included three local officials, a teacher, a pilot and a customs official. Finally, the list included 8 whose occupation cannot necessarily be said to be linked to the site: grain merchant, yeast merchant, butcher, musician, stonemasons and small shopkeeper.²³⁶

The fact that about 4% of the work force were employed in occupations not rooted in local agriculture represented some development since 1789, but it clearly demonstrates that proximity to the city and a larger market had begun to open up opportunities that had not previously been seen or been present.

²³⁶ *Folketællingen 1840*, Hvidovre, Sokkelund Herred, Forstadsmuseet.

In 1847, when the new railway between Copenhagen and Roskilde cut through the far north of Hvidovre, this had no great practical importance, since a stop was not established until nearly 100 years later. With the railway, two new working families arrived when 'Banehus No. 4' at Hvidovre's boundary to Rødovre and Brøndbyøster was constructed.²³⁷



Banehus 4 at the beginning of the 20th century.

Forstadmuseet B16257

CULTURAL CONDITIONS AND CHANGES

There are no local sources that systematically illustrate how changes in the ownership of farms and the changing business structure influenced local culture, but the major changes in the farmer class in Hvidovre were obviously felt.

The farms bought by outsiders rarely stayed in the family for more than two generations, and some of them were included in series of brief ownerships. With the relatively large number of farms in the hands of outsiders up through the 19th century, it was inevitable that the local culture was negatively affected – simply because of the loss of the relationship between family and place.

²³⁷ The history of the Roskilde railway is covered in detail in Christensen, E., *Vestegnen og jernbanen gennem 150 år*, 2007.

Likewise, because of its ecclesiastical cohesion with Frederiksberg, Hvidovre did not have a resident clergyman, and it thus had no local ‘person of rank’ who could form social relationships with the newcomers. This might also have been a contributory factor to the church not being a particularly strong presence in Hvidovre, given that Hagbart Valdemar Brusch could write in 1851 about cancelled church services in Hvidovre Church in his only reference to the church in the first half of the diary series.

Sunday the 2nd.

Ludvig (Hagbart’s older brother) had been asked by the Reverend to preach in Hvidovre Church. He drove to the church with the municipal clerk, but as nobody but Ludvig and the municipal clerk turned up for the service, he went home again.²³⁸

Hvidovre’s traditional farming culture was under pressure in the second half of the 19th century, as evidenced by a farmer’s wedding in 1883. During the wedding ceremony and subsequent celebrations, the bride wore traditional national costume with the appropriate headgear, a *nakke*. When the bride and groom awoke after the wedding night, the groom said to his wife that this was the last time he wanted to see her in regional costume – and she never wore it again.²³⁹ The groom’s family was linked to Åstrupgård, which had been in the family since the early 18th century, so the family was firmly rooted in the local culture.

A FAMILY IN TWO PERIURBAN SPHERES

– 2. HVIDOVRE

The Brusch family, who were part of the country house culture in Frederiksberg’s periurban phase, also came to play a role in Hvidovre. In his life story, the son Hagbart Valdemar Brusch (HVB) came to symbolize the urbanization process in which the city grew organically in the sense of need-driven and unplanned.

From a childhood in central Copenhagen in the 1830s, through youth in the country house in Frederiksberg in the 1840s and later permanent residence in the country house in the early 1850s, HVB was the owner of a farm and later of an estate in Hvidovre.

HVB became the owner of the two farms in Hvidovre that were sold out of the ownership of the original population in the period from national bankruptcy to the

²³⁸ Brusch, H. V. *Dagbøger 1843-53*, Forstadsmuseet P/23, 2 April 1851.

²³⁹ The bride’s grandchild, Elin Bonaventt Jensen, related this to Poul Sverrild.

explosive growth of Copenhagen in the 1880s. He represented capital and culture that came from the outside, but as a farmer and agriculturalist, he engaged in local life to some extent, in contrast to the investors in Hvidovre whose farms were run by tenants while they resided elsewhere.

After finishing his law studies, HVB was awarded his law degree in 1845 at the age of 18. His diary does not mention why he and his family then decided he should study agriculture. However, it seems likely that his opportunity to try his hand at some of the basic elements of agriculture at Ludvigsløst played a role. Nor does the diary show any great interest in intellectual pursuits, and he did have family contacts in the large farms in northern Germany.

HVB started his four-year agricultural training on Langeland, after which he travelled to Schwerin where he completed it. In March 1849 he returned to Denmark and moved in with his parents, now living permanently at Ludvigsløst in Frederiksberg. In the early summer, he helped with the management of the land by starting an asparagus bed and performing general tasks in the fields and garden while he was contemplating a future as a manager.

However, his agricultural plans were postponed in January 1850 when outside events intervened in HVB's life. As the diary laconically notes on January 16th:

'I have been appointed an officer. God knows what the good of that is.'

He became a second lieutenant in the summer of 1850 and lieutenant in 1851, after which he served on Funen until May 1852. At the age of 25, he was then dismissed from the army as part of the restrictions after the three-year war and returned home to the family residence in Frederiksberg.

There he awaited his future, which lay in his father's hands. He did not have the capital to acquire a farm, so support from home was a prerequisite. He had already been led to expect support in becoming a farmer when he left the army.

'... I got two very pleasant letters, one of them from Father, whose intention now is to buy a farm for me as soon as one becomes available on reasonably good terms.' (2-5-1852)

'Some time later Father spoke to me about a farm that he might buy for me [Friheden], so I had great expectations for the future. I should not have had them; I was bitterly disappointed.' (Undated entry between 2-5-1852 and 1-7-1852)

The wait turned into several years of resentment between father and son before a farm was finally purchased. There were probably several reasons for HVB becoming a farmer at his father's expense precisely in Hvidovre. On the one hand,

until 1858 Hvidovre was still part of the same municipality where the family had already bought real estate and where they now lived, and on the other hand the Brusch family were familiar with the area as they had socialized with the owner of the farm 'Friheden' in southern Hvidovre in the 1840s.

'On the evening of the next day Thomsen [the owner of Friheden], Knud Blok and Miss Schmidt came.' (26-12-1843)

'... the next evening I was at Friheden where we played Whist until late at night.' (27-12-1843)

'We spent the evening at Friheden playing Blind Man's Buff, Hot or Cold, and a game of cards.' (2-1-1844)

Finally, in 1854 his father bought the farm Bredgaard in Hvidovre for him. The farm was slightly north of Gammel Køgelandsvej and had been sold many times previously, so HVB became the fifth owner in the 21 years that had passed since the farm was first sold out of the local population in 1833.

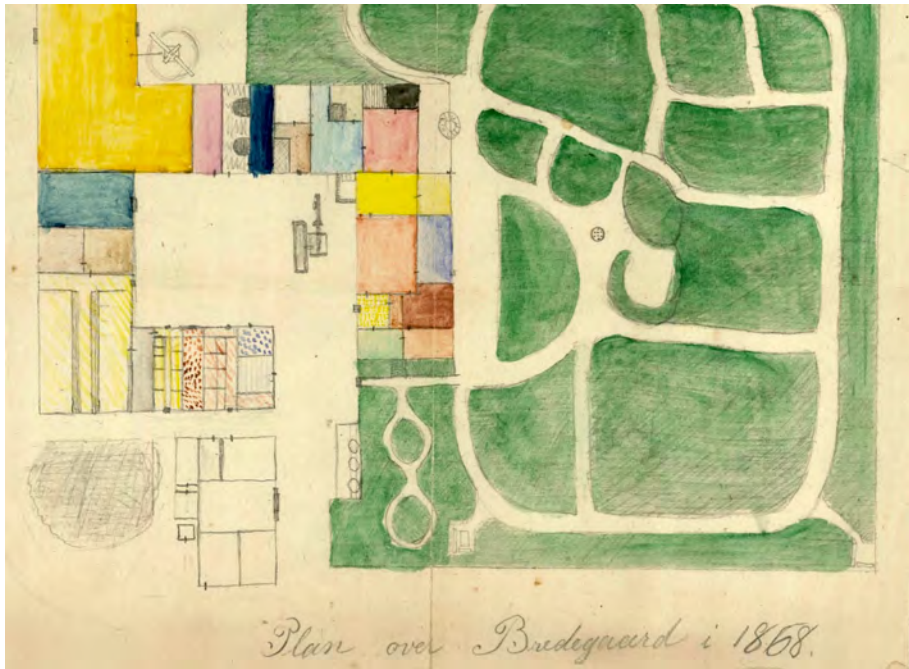
Just seven years after the purchase, in 1861, HVB was able to expand the farm when he also took over the neighbouring farm, Gammelgård. Until then Gammelgård had been in the same family since the enclosure. The two farms were situated diagonally opposite each other in 'Mellemdigsvej' (Hvidovrevej) and together amounted to a property that placed him in the proprietary class. There were only a few other farms in Hvidovre that could compare with it in terms of adjoining land and land valuation.

The property had good access to Copenhagen via the roads 'Grønnevej', which ran along the two sides of 'Gammelgård' and Gammel Køge Landevej. Similarly, it was quite near his parents' residence in Frederiksberg, with easy access via Mellemdigsvej, Roskildevej and Pile Alle.

HVB's diary for 1882-88 is preserved, and in contrast to the highly detailed, rich and descriptive diary from the 1840s, the adult HVB's diary from the 1880s is very concise. On the other hand, he kept it very consistently with daily entries that give a comprehensive picture of life on a large farm in the immediate vicinity of Copenhagen. A typical diary entry contained the day's tasks on the farm and accounts of the farm labourers', social life and the weather.

'Wheat reaped and started reaping the 6" corn in the enclosure. In town and hired a man, Jensen, for DKK 1 a day; he came in the evening.'

L'Hombre with Schrøder and Fabricius. Rainy and windy in the morning. Very dark. Rain in the evening. Quiet.' (10-9-1888)²⁴⁰



Sketch of the lay out of the buildings and the garden at Bredegård. Probably drawn by Hagbart Brusich in 1868.

Forstadsmuseet P/23

The diary was only very rarely used to record phenomena in the outer world, such as the fire at Christiansborg or the death of the German Emperor, and local political life, which HVB took part in, was referred to simply as an activity without policy ever being mentioned.

The diary from the 1880s contains about 2,500 entries, and it was only towards the end of the last year that there were some days when the diary was not kept. So on this basis, it can be presumed to give a comprehensive picture of the factors that may help to illustrate the special conditions on a significant property in Hvidovre's periurban phase.

²⁴⁰ A transcription of Hagbart Valdemar Brusich's diary for 1882 – 1888 is at Forstadsmuseet; the originals are in private ownership.

By virtue of family background, education and financial situation, HBV was markedly different from the local farming population that had its roots in the time before enclosure. He belonged to the group of farm owners in Hvidovre who represented a new era in which the outer world increasingly influenced the local community.

HVB's history and role in the urban development process in Hvidovre can be viewed as a step backwards compared with the parental generation's role in the corresponding development in Frederiksberg. As a farmer, he was part of the existing economic structure in a role that did not point towards urbanization, but with his upbringing and family background, he pointed forwards towards a local community structure with greater social and geographical mobility than the one that had prevailed in the village of Hvidovre.

In Hvidovre, the merger of HVB's two farms had previously only been matched by Holmegård's expansion. Together with the farms purchased by other persons without any local background, the establishment of the large farms was helping to establish a new social structure in Hvidovre, where the farms had originally been of very similar size and value, making the farmers a group characterized by common features.

There were now farmers in Hvidovre with widely varying status in terms of financial situation and culture. For example, HVB was listed as a lieutenant in the censuses, just as a later owner of Bredalsgården farm in the 1890s called himself a consul without the title apparently having local relevance.²⁴¹

The socially differentiating development among farm owners was matched by the development of market gardening at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the smallholder class developed to also accommodate gardeners whose economic property did not have the same acreage as was customary in agriculture. In general, the development of the two occupations signals a time of upheaval, a time of new opportunities for upward social mobility, and a time of opportunity for a range of new commercial uses of land.

As a new farmer in Hvidovre, the now 27 year-old HBV moved into the farm with an older housekeeper and began operations. In 1860 – the year before the acquisition of Gammelgård – there were eight farm labourers, one of whom was from Sweden. Twenty years later, in 1880, he was married and had four children.

²⁴¹ *Folketælling 1901, Sokkelund Herred, Hvidovre Sogn*



Hagbart Brusch at one of his two farms in Hvidovre. The family lasted only for one generation in Hvidovre as his son who took over in the early years of the 20th century was divorced, sold the farms and emigrated. As landowner in Hvidovre Hagbart Brusch took his turns in the municipal council and socialized with a number of local farming families but at the same time showed a more urban parallel culture.

Forstads museet P23

The household also consisted of the children's teacher, a housekeeper and seven labourers for the farm. Three of the seven were from Sweden. In 1890, there were no fewer than five Swedes among the farm's seven employees.

At the time of the last census in 1901 in which HBV was listed as a farmer, his son had taken over operations as manager of the farm, and now there were no longer Swedes among the servants, of whom there were six that year.²⁴²

The reason it is worth highlighting the servant relationship in Bredgaard is because the diary from the 1880s contains a wealth of information about the relationship between farmer and servants. It paints a vivid picture of an agricultural labour market that seemed to be breaking up with a host of irregularities in daily life in connection with appointments, dismissals and the daily work.

There would appear to be two obvious reasons for the special relationship that seems to have prevailed on HVB's property: the cultural distance between servants and masters was greater than usual, and the closeness to the capital and its international labour market gave the servants new opportunities.

²⁴² *Folketælling 1860, 1880, 1890, 1901, Sokkelund Herred, Hvidovre Sogn*

The diary undoubtedly presents a sparse account of this area, as, in relation to the servants, it only includes appointments, dismissals and other irregular conditions such as illness, drunkenness, fights and work stoppages.

A review of the diary for the year of 1882 gives the impression of vigorous activity among the servants on a farm that seems constantly to have been manned by six to seven people. During the year, no fewer than 18 servants were recruited. Although some were hired for short-term service at harvest time, it includes the fact that no fewer than eight servants were either dismissed, expelled or had run away during the year. Four servants were recorded as having left in accordance with the rules, and on one quarter day, HVB noted in the diary that

‘almost all my servants departed – only eight left.’ (1-11-1882)

There were three actual cases that year, the most serious of which concerned a foreman whom the court sentenced to pay DKK 100 to HVB as a fine for fraud. Another farm hand was dismissed for drunkenness, a third for arrogance, and finally there were two who *‘went on strike’*, one of whom was dismissed.

The dairy reported three incidents of drunkenness among the labourers that year without it leading to dismissals, and there were also fights between the servants.

‘Hans Peter and Ole drunk. Fights and a terrible mess at Kulen.’ (15.2.82)

During this period, the diary depicts a countryman’s life in which the old quarter days were no longer the dominant recruitment termini and in which servants could with no apparent difficulty find other employment in close-by Copenhagen when they ran away from their jobs. This also meant that HVB sometimes had to look for candidates for his vacant jobs by meeting the boat from Sweden when it docked, and that he sometimes simply could not find anybody.

As an extraordinary reward for the labourers’ work on the farm during the harvest, HVB gave them a trip to Tivoli in Copenhagen.

At the same time, the diary draws a picture of a family with a cultural pattern and consumption that in many ways resembled the urban way of life that HVB had led in his years in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg.

Extensive social activity was still a part of family life. HVB himself took part in ten events with l’Hombre and Whist, and that year the family paid 15 visits outside the house. The family itself frequently had guests, although it seems that there were not nearly the number of unannounced visits that HVB had experienced in

Frederiksberg as a young man. Hvidovre was out in the country, and transportation was a major concern. Frequent visits to the theatre in the capital were part of the family's cultural habits.



Harvest at a Hvidovre farm around 1895. Powered by a steam-engine the machinery left a number of hands superfluous. It was efficient when it worked but as the diary mentions it was not at all stable. Still the end of harvest was marked with dance, music and drink.

Forstads museet B14931

CONCLUSION

The first part of Hvidovre's periurban phase lasted more than 100 years, during which a number of future development possibilities were represented. In the process up to the first parcelling-out developments in the twentieth century, there were tendencies towards both industrial development and country-house culture, and several new industries were introduced, based on the proximity of the urban market.

At first the industry declined for technological reasons, and the next attempt was made around 1900 with the undeveloped infrastructure. In contrast with this the new industries – market gardening, dairying activities and fishing – went well; market gardening in particular was to play a longer-lasting role and became important among

the land-use options up until the 1950s. The dairy farming was abandoned with the establishment of a general milk supply scheme for the whole of Greater Copenhagen in the 1930s, and the fishing declined in importance with the growth and industrial development of Copenhagen in the twentieth century, which on the one hand increased the pollution of the waters at Kalveboderne and on the other led to the filling-in of large water areas.

Since the developments in Hvidovre took place at different rates from those in both Frederiksberg and Valby, the consequences of the royal family's relinquishment of the castle as a residence were greater. The aristocracy disappeared at an early stage, and the incipient country-house culture yielded to a mainly investment- and tenancy-based culture. As investors the aristocracy was followed by the middle classes, and the absence of connections between the owners and the land was intensified by sometimes very quick changes in ownership.

The conspicuous presence of the aristocracy among the investors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and its connections with Frederiksberg Castle, point to the importance of the royal residence at Frederiksberg. This influence has long been a well elucidated part of the history of Frederiksberg, and it has also been pointed out that the development of Valby was affected by the royal presence. That the 'royalty effect' reached as far as Hvidovre has not been emphasized, partly because the history of Hvidovre has been under-elucidated, but just as much because the connection with Frederiksberg had already been broken off in 1858, and the connection with Valby in 1901.

It seems almost archaic that the monarchy's rejection of Frederiksberg Castle as a residence remains as one of the two individual factors that were to weigh most heavily in the narrowing-down of Hvidovre's scope for development in the middle of the periurban phase. But it accords well with the development of Valby.

The second factor was the two municipal divisions, in which Hvidovre each time played the role of the rejected party whose views were not listened to.

On the other hand these developments paved the way for a new market-gardening culture that required parcelling-out from the farms. The necessary parcelling-out was more easily done by the investors who lived far away than by local farmers who operated family farms and can be assumed to have been less inclined to parcel out their land.

The proximity of the city affected the local agrarian occupations, but true suburban functions only gradually began to become visible around 1900 – paradoxically, only

after the Copenhagen annexation policy had doomed Hvidovre to a rural future.

There were physical limitations to the developmental potential of Hvidovre in the form of the high quality of the soil, which encouraged persistence in cultivation, and in the form of the combination of the relative closeness to the city which permitted sales of goods, and the absence of an infrastructure that could give commuters easy access to the city.

It was a combination of continuous population pressure on Copenhagen, rising prosperity and a new and growing cultural preference for living in single-family homes that was to determine the profile of Hvidovre as a suburb. With a placing outside the Municipality of Copenhagen and with a municipal council that was not keen to see urban development, no supported building associations arose in Hvidovre. So when the parcelling-out began it was parcelling-out associations with less solidarity and strength than the building associations that were to carry development.

The bicycle was the traffic technology that came to develop Hvidovre; not the tram, the bus or the local railway – Hvidovre was too out-of-the-way.

In the midst of Hvidovre's periurban phase, rural society was on the one hand up for sale, and on the other hand failed to understand the urbanization that lay just ahead. As a result of the land speculation in the nineteenth century there were many owners of agricultural land in Hvidovre who had nothing beyond an economic connection with the local community, and can thus be supposed to have been very open to parcelling-out.

In Hvidovre the farm-owning class, which elsewhere in future suburbs like Gladsaxe or Gentofte demonstrated greater understanding of the inevitable development, was to a great extent replaced by the market-gardening class, who had nothing like as much to gain from parcelling-out, since their properties were smaller, and by the tenant group, who had no interest at all in urbanization.

The result of the long development process was a Hvidovre that lay open to the development dynamic and new cultures of the next phase; close enough to the city to function as leisure-home and allotment-garden land, and close enough to entertain the same class's dreams of owning their own houses – quite in keeping with the dreams of the future of the garden city.

In time and place their arrival was once more crucial to the development of the building stock and the social composition that were to determine the options in the next period within the framework of the great movements in national and world

history, as well as the cultural and political struggles between periphery and centre, and between the local population and migrants.

Hvidovre's development in this first part of the periurban phase quite lived up to Richard Harris' definition of the phase as the period when many opportunities are presented and when capital and new cultures have the greatest scope.

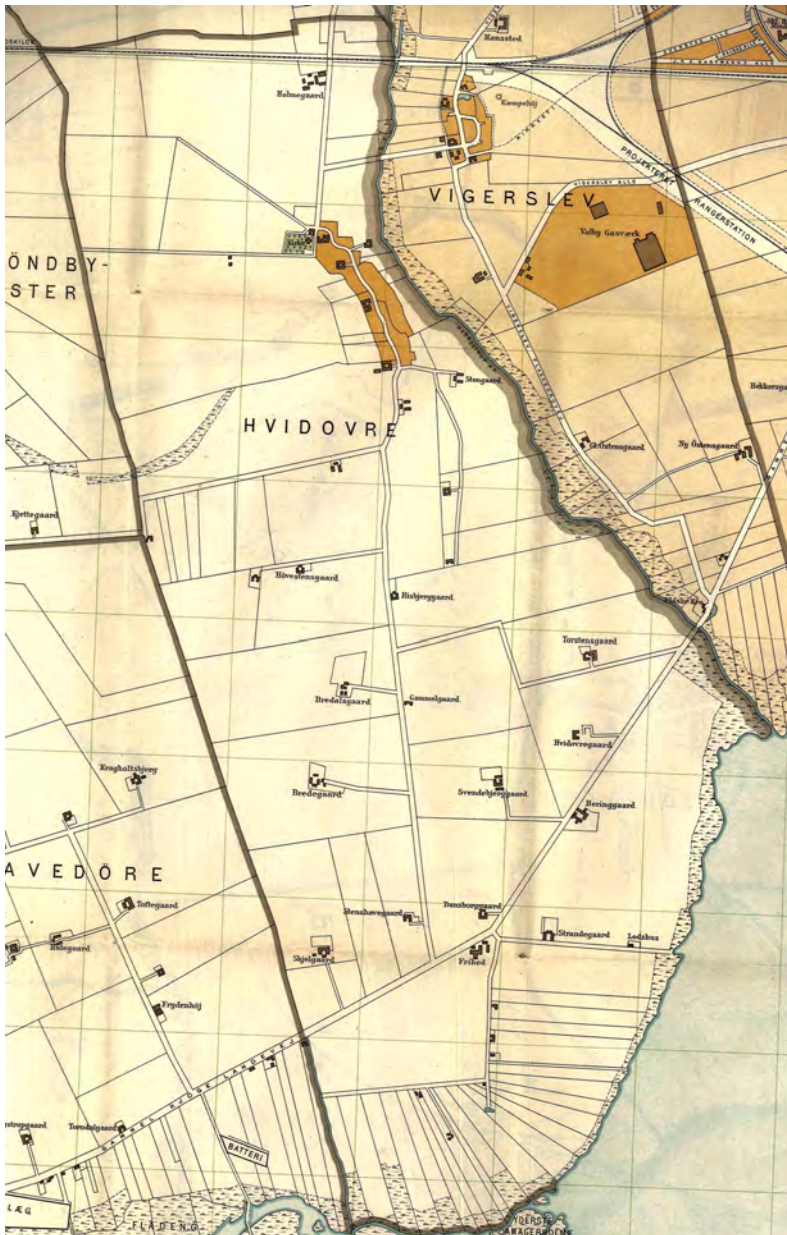
With the new focus on the periurban phase Hvidovre's development appears far more complex than expected and described hitherto. Along the way the opportunities ranged from industry through country house culture to investment agriculture, and the introduction of new occupations pointed to even more opportunities.

Development was to take form under the influence of the greater distance from the monarchy, the broken-off municipal link with Frederiksberg, and a landowning class without local connections. To this one can add the chronology, which opened Hvidovre up for urbanization from the beginning of the twentieth century by virtue of the availability of the bicycle as a commuting tool, and borne up by the idea of having one's own house on one's own land.



Well-off citizens from Hvidovre visiting Copenhagen before 1890. The five couples had a private association where they played cards. The group consisted of four owners of farms and one dairy tenant whose wife was the sister to the wife of one of the farmers. To this social group the cultural life in Copenhagen was not just a possibility. The sources tell us about visits to for instance theatres, restaurants and Tivoli. But having access to urban life as visitors did not necessarily mean you were prepared to modernize life in your rural surroundings.

Forstadsmuseet B14384



Besides the farm-names this roadmap of Hvidovre from 1906 only mentions the church and the pilot station. In neighboring Vigerslev the gasworks (Valby Gasværk) which were taken into use in 1908 is marked. It was to become one of the early important industrial workplaces for workers from Hvidovre.

KRAK, København 1906

9 A SNAPSHOT – HVIDOVRE 1900-1910

This chapter paints a picture of the landscape, buildings and infrastructure in Hvidovre around the turn of the previous century, with a sidelong glance at the inhabitants. The biggest political issue in connection with exclusion from Valby and Vigerslev, the new school, is presented as an example of the local community's view of the surrounding world and its immediate consequences.

The chapter provides a miniature portrait of a local community gradually acknowledging the arrival of new times, but also with a belief that the new times could be shaped in line with local wishes and expectations, while retaining the basic elements of the world they knew.

When the City of Copenhagen incorporated Valby, Vigerslev and Kongens Enghave in 1901, Hvidovre was pushed farther to the west. As a result of this process, the municipality could persist in having an image of its immediate future as non-urban.

Under the name of the Municipality of Hvidovre, it now only comprised the original village with adjoining land. For Hvidovre the growth of Copenhagen therefore meant a return to the earlier situation where there was a convergence on the surface between the administrative and the geographical framework. However, this took place in a different local reality, where the processes described in the previous chapter had dissolved the original cohesion between the place and the culture-bearing class in the local community, the landowners.

The new municipality thus became the framework for continued periurban development in which the ongoing processes became visible in earnest in daily life at the local level and were no longer measured in terms of changes in ownership, the introduction of new local businesses or cultural dislocation within certain groups in the community.

The landscape of Hvidovre still formed the basis for the familiar primary occupations, and the infrastructure was therefore also marked by their needs. The road network mainly consisted of link roads between the village and the farms in the fields, and roads that ensured that the village had contact with neighbours and access to the big market in Copenhagen. The village street continued north and south to Roskildevvej and Køgevej respectively; the new road towards the east, which had grown out of an old church pathway, went to Vigerslev. Towards the

west, the old main road went to Avedøre along a route dating from the time of the enclosures in the eighteenth century.

South of Køgevej, as in the eighteenth century, a road led to a landing stage and to a common road to the water, and finally to an old common waterhole in the meadows to the south. The last public road in the municipality, Grønnevej, had grown out of access roads to farms and made it possible to take a shortcut from the village to the municipal boundary with Copenhagen at the tollhouse on Gammel Køge Landevej.



*The tollhouse at
Flaskekroen around
1920 after it had
been turned into a
smallholding.*

Forstadmuseet
B16042

As previously mentioned, Gammel Køge Landevej, which crossed the municipality in the south, had been constructed as a main road at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but had since fallen to the status of a municipal road in the wake of the construction of the modern Tåstrup-Køgevej, work on which began around 1780. However, it was still possible, if difficult, to access Copenhagen from Hvidovre by way of Gammel Køge Landevej.

At the time of the 1901 census, the new, small municipality of Hvidovre had been reduced to 559 inhabitants. The population increased continuously from this low level up until the next change in the geographical extent of the municipality, which took place in connection with the municipal reform of 1970, which reached as far as Hvidovre in 1974. At that point, the little municipality had grown to have a population of over 44,000. When the municipality was merged with Avedøre to the west, the inhabitants numbered 50,000.

Population growth in Hvidovre can be compared with growth throughout the nineteenth century, when it had developed from about 300 to 559 inhabitants in 1901.

The decades at the beginning of the twentieth century were characterized, nationally and internationally, by optimism vis-à-vis development and growing prosperity. In addition, there were significant international efforts to combat the social and health problems that came in the wake of industrialization and urbanization.

In Denmark, as in much of Europe, new legislation was adopted in such areas as the protection of workers, health insurance, social security and housing. A stable, lasting negotiating structure was adopted on the Danish labour market, parliamentarianism was introduced, and the Danish *Folkeskole* (municipal primary and lower secondary school) was established by law, creating continuity in the educational system from the *Folkeskole* to the *Gymnasium* or upper secondary school.

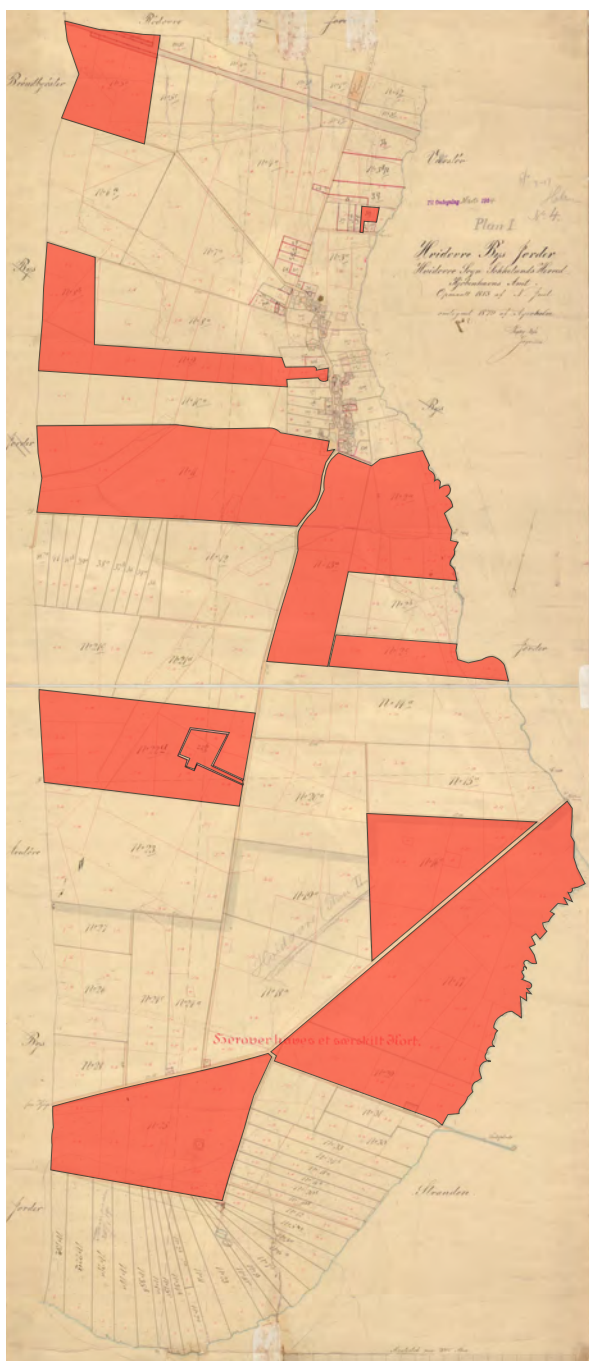
Still in 1914 rural stability is conveyed by the photo of the carter from the Mariendal Mill at Frederiksberg delivering bread to the daughter of the sculptor-couple Pedersen-Dan at the old school-house and the three daughters from the neighboring farm.

Det kongelige Bibliotek
(Forstadsmuseet B15769)



The period also saw significant new departures in class and gender differences, both on the labour market and in political life. The right to vote on local matters was extended to women with the right to vote for parochial church councils in 1903, for municipal councils in 1909 and in 1915, and their right to vote on national matters, along with other groups such as servants.

Geographically, the agrarian community of Hvidovre lay at the periphery of this myriad of reforms and changes generated by the industrialized city and, regarded superficially, it had hardly changed compared with former times. Almost symbolically, the railway thundered through the northern end of the municipality



Properties in Hvidovre owned by persons living outside the municipality shortly after 1900.

7 living in Copenhagen
4 living at Frederiksberg
2 living in Rødovre
1 living in Søllerød (north of Copenhagen)

They owned 9 farms comprising about 316 ha. and two smaller holdings: a one-family house with a garden and one lumber-yard.

Forstads-museet, Taxlist 1904

Analysis of property valuation in Hvidovre based on the First General Valuation 1904.

The 1904 property-structure in some ways it points back to the periurban development that had started in the 1800s. Market gardening and horticulture now became common, with ten commercial enterprises, and several small farms had been established, while a number of the farms had increased in size.

Only 105 of the valuation's 126 numbers were used, and 98 properties contained dwellings. The calculation is based on the wording of the First General Valuation. This means, for example, that the pilot station, with land covering approximately 8 acres, is not included in either the market garden or the agricultural categories, even though the size of the property meant that it belonged to one of them. The same applies to a house on approximately 7 acres of land that delivered vegetables to the entertainment venue Lorry in the Copenhagen district of Frederiksberg.

Market gardening loomed larger, as indicated by the fact that two of the plots that had not been built on were owned by market gardeners and they were far bigger in size than the plots used for dwellings.

Property use in 1904:

Agriculture	36
Horticulture, market gardening	10
Dwelling with business	11
Dwelling	37
House	1
Unbuilt plot	4
School, level crossing guard's house, church, pilot's house	4
Total	105

Owners:

Public properties	6
Farm owner, 'gentleman farmer'	20
Agriculturalist/market gardener	16
Craftsman	11
Labourer	20
Widow	8
Director, innkeeper, merchant, manufacturer	5
Tenant dairyman, fisherman	3
House owner	6
Clerk/teacher	3
Retail	3
Private person	1
Lady	2
Unspecified	1
Total	105

with no possibility of boarding or leaving the train in Hvidovre.

BUILDING IN HVIDOVRE, 1904

A fundamentally new taxation structure was implemented in 1903 as part of the above-mentioned general modernization of society and in reaction to the ongoing shift in emphasis from countryside to city. The old property and land tax assessment system was replaced by a new, general income tax and a different property tax that required new valuations of all properties. In 1904 the first general property valuation was therefore conducted, providing a precise snapshot of the structure of property and buildings for that year.

The valuations in Hvidovre encompassed all properties, from the smallest residential property on a plot of 275 m² to the largest farm of 199 acres. In 1904, the 98 occupied properties in Hvidovre formed a topographical pattern that was only marginally different from the pattern familiar in the time immediately following the enclosures. The village was still the central point of the municipality with farms, market gardens and, not least, many houses with very small plots of land. The school, the church and the shop where the telephone exchange opened in 1905 were also situated here. Thus, the overall picture remained that of a densely populated village surrounded by open land.

As described later, Hvidovre gained a new school as compensation for its separation from Valby and Vigerslev. The new school provided a much-needed renewal compared with the facilities at the Cavalry School from 1722. In recent years, it had been necessary to rent an extra room for teaching elsewhere in the village. With two classrooms, the capacity had now doubled, but neither the architecture nor the size of the building hint at any sense that new times were on their way. The school was a one-storey building, but with a sewing room in the loft.

The new municipal council in Hvidovre immediately sold the old school, as there was no municipal need for the building. The properties now at the disposal of the municipality, apart from the new school, were the plot on which the school was built, which formed part of the teacher's salary, and the poorhouse.

The village itself was a relatively large structure, not only lying on both sides of the village street, Hvidovregade, but also with a parallel street closer to Harrestrup Å, and other narrow streets linking the two streets.

The greatest growth in separate properties took place at the coast on some of the original meadow plots of the farms and along the road to the old slipway where the pilot station was. In addition there were market gardens on plots that had been sold off, and small farms that lay scattered like the outlying farms.

The property structure in agriculture pointed back to the development in the earlier period. The growth in the number of farms covered a dual development where some of the properties grew rapidly while others shrank. The consequence was that the farm owners were no longer in largely the same economic class, which had been the situation around the time of the enclosures.

The largest farms now belonged to the *proprietær* ('gentleman farmer') class and were far bigger than any of the original farms had been. The biggest was Beringgård with its approximately 200 acres, owned by the butter merchant I. C. Lembrecht since 1901. He took over Flaskekroen in Vigerslev at the same time, and sold it in 1913. He represented a new era with his plans to establish a butter packing facility at the farm. However, he soon abandoned his plans for a packing industry '*as the distance to Copenhagen proved to be too great*'.²⁴³

The previously-described composite property Bredegård/Gammelgård of about 172 acres was in the same class. It was owned by the only farm owner in Hvidovre who called himself a *proprietær* or 'gentleman farmer'. H.V. Brusch, the original owner, had died in April 1903, and his eldest son took over the running of the property with his mother on the sidelines. It now seemed that the family that had taken part in the periurban development west of Copenhagen would continue its urbanized, agriculturally based existence in Hvidovre for yet another generation.

However, this was not to be. After a couple of years, the son left his wife and two children, sold the farm, and in 1911 or 1912 emigrated to Canada, where he farmed up to the Great Depression, after which he returned to Denmark.²⁴⁴ With the sale of Bredegård/Gammelgård, the Brusch family was behind the first comprehensive parcelling-out of plots for leisure homes in Hvidovre in 1908. In this respect the family came to contribute to a new change of course in the periurban phase of Hvidovre. When they sold the property, the family severed its connection with Hvidovre.

²⁴³ Sørensen, S.Aa., Nordlund, H.O. *Beringgård*, 1976, p. 19-20

²⁴⁴ *Valdemar Rohde*, P/24/ Forstadsmuseet, '*Optegnelser om Rohde, Brusch og Winsløw m.v.*'

Holmegård, with 135 acres of land, was the third of Hvidovre's largest farms. This was the home of the widow K. Hansen, who had just sold seven acres. All three farms had a taxable value of about 20 acres,²⁴⁵ thus qualifying for the designation *proprietærgård* ('gentleman farmer's farm').

The next two properties in terms of size were both of more than 119 acres, with owners who did not come from the area. The innkeeper at Damhuskroen in Rødovre owned Spurvegården, and Stengården/Eriksminde belonged to the director of the Trifolium dairy. He lived in the Copenhagen enclave Frederiksberg.

Non-locals owned three of the five biggest farms in the municipality, and two of these farms had been formed by merging two formerly independent farms. At the other end of the scale, a large number of small farms had now appeared where the owners called themselves 'farm owners' with properties as small as 20 acres – a size category of which the largest market gardens could now also form a part. There had been a gradual transition from farm to smallholding. However, here, so close to the Copenhagen food market, this did not necessarily mean poor circumstances for smallholders and farmers – as some market gardeners still called themselves.

DWELLINGS

The development in the urban housing market in the second half of the nineteenth century had added new building typologies, especially in the shape of the urban terrace house, the detached house and, at the end of the century, the building society house for one or more families.

In Hvidovre in the years immediately following 1900, as opposed to neighboring Rødovre, there were no initiatives to subdivide the land to build permanent residences with a point of departure in the possibility of being granted government support. This was probably because in that period the old main road from Copenhagen to Køge through Hvidovre was not in a state that could encourage large-scale commuter traffic, and it meant that Hvidovre was more out of the way than the south of Rødovre, where Roskildevej allowed direct access to 'Søtorp',²⁴⁶ this municipality's first building society plot with detached houses.

²⁴⁵ Trap, J.P. *Kongeriget Danmark*, 3. 1898 edition, p. 247

²⁴⁶ Rambusch, S., ed. *Rødovre 1901-1976*, 1978, p 181-202

Numerous cooperative building societies had appeared in the Valby part of Hvidovre-Valby municipality following the adoption of the Building Support Act in 1898. These were mainly associations – north and south of the Roskilde railway – that constructed detached and semi-detached houses.²⁴⁷ At that time, however,



Raising the roof-tree on the first urban building in Hvidovre in 1898. Built by a local carpenter who ten years later let one of the flats out to the municipal council whereof he himself was a member.

Forstads museet B16422

²⁴⁷ Bro, H. *Boligen mellem natvægterstat og velfærdsstat*, 2008. p. 184

Hvidovre still lay outside the area that was regarded as a realistic place to live in terms of commuting to Copenhagen.

On the other hand, as previously mentioned, the high-rise with flats to rent had already been built in 1901 in the northern part of Hvidovre near the road to the village of Vigerslev - at the same time as Valby was incorporated in Copenhagen. The first block of rental flats, Lykkens Minde, was constructed in the village of Hvidovre in 1898.²⁴⁸

The construction of the two properties illustrated the options of the periurban space. They were built immediately before and after Hvidovre had been categorized as outside the urban sphere of interest. With their construction they also demonstrated that there were limits to the importance of the political arena in relation to the market. Thus, at this time, in Hvidovre as elsewhere, there was a market for rental housing of a more urban character and with a style that did not signal village status.

On the one hand, the presence of a growing rental housing market in Hvidovre illustrated the arrival of a new organization of society. The dissolution of the traditional relationship between work and home, which had been the general state of affairs in pre-industrial society, became visible with the growth in rental dwellings.

In 1905,²⁴⁹ there were 102 residential buildings in Hvidovre, and in every fourth of them there were households that had rented a home and took no part in running the businesses that the properties in some cases were part of.

The 27 properties in Hvidovre with tenants contained 44 households in all. The vast majority of properties with tenants had only a single tenancy, but three of the 27 houses stood out by together holding eleven of the tenancies. The three properties were, respectively, the two modern blocks of flats and a former farm in Hvidovregade.

²⁴⁸ The block of flats on the road between Hvidovre and the village of Vigerslev of held two floors with a high basement, and contained. The location of the building outside the village made sense, as a bridge for traffic over Harrestrup Å to Vigerslev to replace a footbridge had just been opened in 1897. (Ernst Andersens Arkiv, Forstadsmuseet P/8 153.) The second block of flats, Lykkens Minde in Hvidovregade was built by a local carpenter also in two floors, a basement and an attic.

²⁴⁹ Information concerning properties and inhabitants in the following is based on *Mandatsliste Hvidovre, november 1905*, Forstadsmuseet

Each of the two new blocks of flats had four apartments and seven of the eight apartments were rented, while the eighth was occupied by the property owner, who had one servant who is likely to have worked in the same owner's market garden. There were four more tenancies in the last property.



The rental property from 1901 on Landlystvej near Vigerslev. Demolished 1985.

Forstadmuseet B1927

The three rental properties demonstrated why nascent urbanization could be a cause for concern in a small rural municipality. The head of the family in seven of the eleven flats that were rented out in the buildings was unskilled, and in the last four they were respectively a cobbler, a wood engraver, a house painter and a market gardener. The eleven families totalled 59 persons and were thus only a little above the average of four occupants per flat, the average for the inhabitants of Copenhagen in 1890.²⁵⁰

The three properties, which accounted for less than 3% of Hvidovre's residential properties, contained about 10% of the population of the rural municipality. The architecture of the two newly-built apartment blocks corresponded to the form of

²⁵⁰ <https://tidsskrift.dk/index.php/nationaloekonomisktidsskrift/article/view/18349/35177>

the earliest high-rises in Valby from the years around 1890,²⁵¹ and thus mimed the development in the main village of the former municipality. They might well thus be said to have foreshadowed the imminent arrival of the bigger tenement blocks, as had been the case in Valby.

Hvidovre had the capacity for several possible courses of development when it came to attracting citizens during this phase. This is exemplified in the rental of Hvidovre's old school, which had been sold to a Copenhagen master carpenter in 1902. He rented the building out as a residence for the next nine years before he sold it.

For the four years from 1904 to 1907, it was rented by the architect Carl Petersen,²⁵² who used it as both a residence and a pottery workshop. Because of his relatively short stay, his presence had no effect on the community, but Hvidovre's potential was noted.

'But it is not a lucrative business to be an experimental ceramicist. The kiln needs coal that often had to be bought or borrowed in small portions, which Carl Petersen then himself dragged in a sack over his shoulder through the peaceful streets of Hvidovre, where there are still houses with dressed yellow brick surfaces and tiled or thatched roofs, quite untouched by the market town style, and slate roofs, despite the location just beside Copenhagen but more pristine than many a village in Jutland'.²⁵³

In the years before the First World War Hvidovre village still had some of the qualities that could attract the contemporary 'first movers', the artists.

Hvidovre never became an artists' colony, but a few years later the school was purchased by the sculptor H.P. Pedersen-Dan, who lived and worked there for the next twenty years along with his wife, also a sculptor.

The still relatively new commercial fishing and dairy businesses had no significant impact on residential construction. Two of the fishermen's families lived in a former

²⁵¹ Erslev, K. *Valby i Gamle Dage – og nu*, 1949, p. 125

²⁵² Architect, professor, ceramicist, 1873-1923. Principal work Faaborg Museum

²⁵³ Koch, E. *Kliken* no. 4, vol. 1, 1923

farmhouse, and, like the dairy, many of the market gardens were run from older residential houses built in the traditional local building style.

At the beginning of the century, however, some dwellings were built for market gardens, the style of which was close to the detached house, but they only began to be seen in earnest in the landscape during the next decade.



The garden of the Cavalry School in the 1920's. The sculptor Pedersen-Dan with his family. As a setting for artistes Hvidovre could have been perfect with Copenhagen only a bike-ride away and still with an unspoiled village.

Forstads museet B14011

COMMERCE AND MANPOWER²⁵⁴

The population of Hvidovre remained predominantly employed in the primary industries, with agriculture as the most important, but with the horticultural industry

²⁵⁴ Data in this section are from *Folketællinger og Mandtalslister* from the period between 1890 and 1911 and from 1. *Almindelige Vurdering 1904*

in strong growth in terms of employment, land, economic importance and self-understanding. Self-understanding was visible during the first decade of the new century, when the market gardeners shifted in terms of local politics from the smaller municipal council group – later formally social democratic – to the larger right-of-centre group.

Land use in Hvidovre, as described in the valuation, had primarily undergone development through the growth of the market gardens, but this occupation was not yet so visible, with a share of just over 2% of the land, as against agriculture with just over 90% in 1904. For the market gardens in particular, this estimate exhibits a not insignificant uncertainty, since the use of the term ‘farmer’ for the smaller holdings does not clearly indicate the form of cultivation. Thus ‘2% of the area’ is a minimum specification.

However, the growth of the market gardens is more clearly seen in the demography. The more intensive form of cultivation meant that horticulture experienced a growth in employment and thus positively affected population growth, while increasing agricultural mechanization led to a lower employment rate. In 1905, tenant farmers or farm managers ran eight of the farms as compared to five in 1901. This underlined the accelerating development of the separation of the businesses from the local community.

The earliest individual examples of manpower commuting from Hvidovre to Copenhagen had occurred as early as the nineteenth century, but this had been somewhat erratic. However, around 1900, the phenomenon was increasing, although slowly. Whereas only three commuters can be found in 1890, by 1901 there were at least eight, while in 1905 the minimum number had increased to 14, and in 1911 to 34 – in a population which in the same period only increased from 661 to 689.²⁵⁵

The reason that only an absolute minimum figure can be given for commuters is that no census before 1911 listed people’s place of work. The strong increase up to 1911 may therefore indicate that in the earlier years commuting had been somewhat more extensive than the censuses can document. An interesting aspect of what at all events was the rapid growth in commuting that could be noted in 1911 is that no

²⁵⁵ The very slight growth in population between 1890 and 1911 covers an intervening significant fall in the population of approximately 15% during the 1890s.

new homes were built after the construction of the latest rental property in 1901. Commuters therefore came from the existing housing stock.

Although the 1911 census does not give a precise picture of the extent of commuting, it does provide a picture of where and in which industries some of commuters had found employment.

New companies in the closest part of the City of Copenhagen were attractive. In 1907 the new Valby Gasworks opened, and it employed five residents of Hvidovre. Three more worked in the gasworks industry in the City of Copenhagen, and two of these were employed at Vestre Gasværk at Halmtorvet. Carlsberg Breweries engaged two workers, and one had found employment at F.L. Smidth, which had had moved to Valby in 1899.

No less interesting is the fact that commuting opened up employment opportunities for women outside the framework that the rural community offered in the form of work as domestic servants, seamstresses or housekeepers. Among the commuters were a woman tailor at Illum's, a shop assistant, a porcelain painter and a laundrywoman. These were indeed new times in terms of the options that the city could offer.

Within the space of ten years after the political border had been drawn between town and country, Hvidovre had become part of the city's labour market, but not a suburb. The periurban phase continued to offer a wide range of possible directions for development.

THE SCHOOL ISSUE

The first issue to arise in local politics after the decision to divide the municipality had to do with the new school and was raised before the division came into effect. Prior to the decision on the division of the municipality, the municipal council in Hvidovre-Valby had decided finally to do something about the inadequate school situation in Hvidovre. However, the Hvidovre part of the municipality experienced that the municipal council subsequently failed to act in accordance with the decision once the division of the municipality was adopted.

The division of the municipality made it necessary to account for and distribute the local assets and liabilities between Copenhagen and Hvidovre. To this end, a fast-working commission was set up in the spring of 1900 under the government-

appointed chairman, Senior Deputy Judge O. Hastrup.²⁵⁶ He was well versed in municipal conditions, among other reasons as a result of his work in the poor law commission of the municipality of Frederiksberg in the 1890s. With the participation from Copenhagen of the Mayor for Financial Matters, Borup, the level was set, since Borup had a background as a lawyer and at one point had been Head of Department at the Ministry of the Interior, which was responsible for the municipalities.

There was also to be a representative of the Hvidovre-Valby Municipal Council in the commission, as well as two representatives of the Hvidovre part of the municipality. Consequently, a special election had to be held in Hvidovre to find the two local representatives for the commission. The election was announced in May, when the electoral lists were drawn up; then the two electoral groups, consisting of the 'highest-taxed' and the 'lowest-taxed', selected one member each. Those elected were the farmer C.P. Petersen, who owned the Torstensgården farm and belonged to one of the original Hvidovre families, and the teacher at Hvidovre School, J.K. Nielsen .

The choice of the teacher may of course be interpreted as a result of the school issue being regarded as crucial to the small community. But it can also be seen as an acknowledgement of the fact that the current work of the commission would require a certain level of education to ensure influence; and in the absence of a vicar, the schoolteacher had to represent the educated segment.

The first meeting of the commission was held as early as late June. The events that followed were to prove unexpected since, two days before the meeting, the chairman received a request from the commission's two Hvidovre representatives.

In a long letter to the chairman, the two Hvidovre people first reviewed the unsatisfactory school conditions in Hvidovre, and then described the position that the incumbent municipal council had taken on the school issue. In 1899, the council had decided that a school should be built in Hvidovre, and an architect and project had been chosen, but since then nothing had really happened.

'...On the whole we in Hvidovre had a feeling that the way in which the municipal council worked in this case might suggest that it was the

²⁵⁶ The description of the case history of the work of the commission is based on *Indlæmmelsen af Valbydistriktet 1.1.1901*, Forstadsmuseet

council's intention to drag the matter out. We do not say that it was so, but whatever the case, the whole of Hvidovre took this view ...'

The letter ended with a mandatory prior requirement from the two Hvidovre representatives that the school issue had to be resolved before they would participate in the work of the commission.

'...we declare that we cannot take part in this [the work of the commission] before the present municipal council of Hvidovre has fulfilled its obligation to us ...'



Pupils at Hvidovre school around 1895. The 56 pupils were taught in two classes and the small classroom could hardly hold this number of pupils. The plan in the municipal council had been to build a new school in Hvidovre around the time of the separation from Valby. In Hvidovre the separation was seen as a threat to the financing of the new school.

Forstadmuseet B15121

With the teacher as one of Hvidovre's representatives, as mentioned, it could come as no surprise that the school case would be high on the agenda, but it is rather astonishing that it was now being used as an ultimate weapon before the forthcoming debate on municipal funding.

This attempted blackmail was immediately rejected by the chairman, who curtly informed the Hvidovre members that in future they would not be invited to the meetings until they announced that they desired to join in the work of the commission.

With the initial meeting on June 28 and a subsequent – and final – meeting on July 3, in which there had still been no participation from Hvidovre, the commission was truly a fast-working one, and the representatives from Hvidovre had cut themselves off from any influence.

The case demonstrated one thing about the Hvidovre situation: locally they were unable to understand the framework within which the municipal future was to be created. It was completely beyond the options open to the commission to fulfil the condition that the Hvidovre-Valby municipal council should deal with the new school before Hvidovre would participate in the work of the commission. Moreover, there would not have been time for the necessary process in the municipal council in terms of the commission's working process; and finally, accepting any precondition would not be consistent with the basis for the commission's work.

The commission concluded its work with a consensus (among those in attendance) on the terms whereby the division of the municipality was to take place. As the only special provision, the commission recommended that the City of Copenhagen should give the future municipality of Hvidovre DKK 20,000 for a new school.

So, Hvidovre got what it had demanded, but it had completely forfeited any influence on the content of the rest of the agreement. The process first and foremost revealed the limited horizon of the rural community. They had only reluctantly accepted the partition, and as a result only what was immediate and urgent had been considered important.

As with the other parties to the local authority division processes in which Hvidovre had been involved, short-term economic interests had determined attitudes. Hvidovre's very categorical actions in this case are no less interesting in the light of the way they later responded to external challenges to the local community. The fear that the small municipality would have to stand alone in the face of an overwhelming investment in a new school overshadowed any realistic assessment of the process and of the power relations between the small rural community and the nation's capital.

The drastic action on the part of Hvidovre demonstrated beautifully the self-perception that the representatives had expressed in their letter to the chairman.

‘... because it is a vital issue for the poor little town, which cannot bear extraordinary burdens on its shoulders.’

Hvidovre’s inability to act in a process that they themselves perceived as “*a vital issue*” sheds light on how little understanding there was in the rural community for the development of society as expressed so significantly in contemporary urban growth, and as it had already been manifested in changes in property relations in Hvidovre.

The abortive action of the representatives of Hvidovre, in which the teacher’s role in formulating the extortion letter seems clear, did not harm him. The municipal council later appointed him secretary to the municipal council, indicating that he was completely in line with the mood of leading circles in Hvidovre.

With their fundamentally conservative but also value-based arguments in relation to promises made, the representatives inscribed themselves in a tradition of tactics that have been commonly used by Danish farmers in their relations with higher authorities.²⁵⁷

In the present context, the small farmers of Hvidovre with their self-understanding were exposed to changes and unfair treatment not just from a body such as the old municipal council, but from ‘development’ itself. As a tactic in this case, Hvidovre played the role of the victim, which the municipal council and the centre-right would later cultivate in earnest as the next phase in the periurban developments that followed in the wake of the First World War.

Hvidovre was treated quite properly despite its boycott of the commission’s work; this can be seen from the arrangement concerning poor relief. The big poorhouse of the old municipality was in Valby, and at the time of the division the commission decided that they would not return paupers who originated in Hvidovre to the municipality. The commission estimated that it would be financially difficult for the small new municipality to handle the task, so instead Hvidovre was given its own little poorhouse which could accommodate two households. The fact that such a

²⁵⁷ Henningsen, P. *Den rationelle bonde – en historisk-antropologisk analyse af traditionalismen i dansk bondekultur*, in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 100, part 2.

small poorhouse was considered an adequate facility in the new municipality suggests that *'the poor little town'* was not quite so needy.



The small poorhouse in Hvidovre only housed very few persons in the following decades until it was demolished in 1935, shortly after the social reforms that heralded the upcoming welfare-society.

Forstadsmuseet B743

POLITICS, ADMINISTRATION AND CULTURE IN THE NEW MUNICIPALITY OF HVIDOVRE

There were elections for the new municipal council of seven members in Hvidovre in the autumn of 1900. The electorate was still divided into two groups who, in two rounds, first elected the smaller part of the municipal council (three members), and then the larger (four members). The municipality's landowners were the voters in the larger group, and in the final polling of this group in November 1900, the four municipal council members were elected by only twelve voters.

A minor issue in connection with the election shows that it was not only the physical and economic circumstances that were straitened in the new municipality.

There was a tie between two candidates, but since one of these candidates was the brother of one of those who had already been elected, it was thought that he was thus disqualified. This later turned out to be a misinterpretation of the electoral law, and in the subsequent drawing of lots between the two candidates with an equal number of votes, the result was that the brothers N.C. and P.E. Hansen, joint owners of Skelgården, were both elected.

The municipal council had no meeting room and had no wish to have one. This was illustrated by the fact that after the construction of the new school, the council chose to sell the old school, in which the classroom would otherwise have been a possible framework for political activities. The meetings were usually held at the home of the chairman of the municipal council, where the municipality's documents were also stored, and where there were office hours for seeing residents. There were no major public facilities in the new municipality, so for some of the more important events the council had to move beyond the municipal boundary. The inn Flaskekroen in Vigerslev was one of the places where the municipal council held meetings, including the regularly recurring auctions for grazing rights on municipal roadsides that the municipal council held.²⁵⁸

Alternatively, municipal council meetings were held at Damhuskroen on Roskildevej in Rødovre. Twenty years were to pass before Hvidovre got its own inn, but the municipal council had to acquire an office as early as 1909. It rented one of the apartments in the block Lykkens Minde from 1901 in Hvidovre village. As mentioned before, the current municipal election law guaranteed the major landowners and taxpayers a majority of four in the municipal council. This was reflected clearly in the election for the first municipal council, which took office at New Year 1900/01. The electorate of the wealthy voted four farm owners into the council, while the minority elected by the entire electorate was composed of an artisan, a gardener and a labourer.²⁵⁹

The great importance of land tenure in local politics was underlined by the fact that the four majority members together owned 172 acres of land, while the minority owned only about two acres.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ *Sognerådets Forhandlingsprotokol 1901-09*, Forstadmuseet

²⁵⁹ *Valgprotokol 1894-1919*, Forstadmuseet

²⁶⁰ *1. almindelige Vurdering 1904*, Forstadmuseet



The municipal council 1901-03. The next council had no group photo taken.

Forstads museet B14628

During the 1904-06 term of the municipal council, the council consisted of: Christen Hansen, farmer; majority member / Niels Christian Hansen, farm owner, majority member / Peter Emil Hansen, farm owner, majority member / Johannes Nielsen, farm owner, majority member / O.P. Andersen, market gardener, minority member / Peder Knudsen, machinist and market gardener, minority member / N.P. Hansen, wheelwright, minority member

During the 1909-14 term of the municipal council, the council consisted of: Niels Kristian Stricker, tenant farmer, later of the Conservative People's Party / Peter Olsen, farmer, of the Social Liberal Party / Carl Sofus Petersen, carpenter, no party affiliation stated / Ludvig Hansen, market gardener, of the Social Liberal Party / P. Pedersen, machine owner, of the Social Democratic Party / Carl August Nielsen, market gardener, of the Social Democratic Party / Carl Johannes Olsen, blacksmith, of the Social Democratic Party.

P/7 Ernst Andersens Arkiv, Forstads museet

In the course of first decade of the century, there was a drift in local politics which on the one hand reflected local economic and social development and on the other was influenced by general national developments. The market garden industry was more strongly represented on the municipal council after the new election of minority candidates in 1904, when the gardeners took two of the three seats. The third went to a craftsman.

After the municipal council elections in the spring of 1906, a meeting was held over the summer about forming a local branch of the Social Democratic Party in Hvidovre. The inaugural meeting was characteristically held at the home of one of the rural community's few commuters, a porter whose tax returns bear witness to the fact that he was benefiting from the new higher pay level in the urban Copenhagen labour market.²⁶¹

The Social Democratic Party was the first party-political organization in Hvidovre known to have a direct connection with national politics, and the establishment of a local party branch was probably a contributory factor in ensuring that the market gardeners won a more mixed listing in the municipal council elections in 1909.

Since the market gardeners, like the farmers, were not a very homogenous group economically, they had now been elected as representatives of both the centre-right and the Social Democrats. In the elections of 1909, the new importance of the market gardeners in relation to the farmer class was reflected in the fact that three of the seven members were market gardeners, none were farm owners, but one was a tenant farmer, and the market gardeners were represented by one Social Democrat and two Social Liberals.

In this election, national party politics really became visible locally, inasmuch as three of the members were Social Democrats and two were Social Liberals.²⁶² The remaining two members were listed as without party affiliation, but one later appeared as a Conservative. This election took place in accordance with the new election law, in which the division into two groups of voters had been abolished, and which granted female suffrage.

²⁶¹ *75 år for folkets sag*, Forstadmuseet C149, *Socialdemokratiet i Hvidovre 1981*, p. 3, and *Selvangelser 1904/05*, Forstadmuseet. With an annual self-declared income of DKK 1,100, he was far above the wage level of unskilled workers in rural society, where a farm hand in Hvidovre at that time typically earned DKK 500-700.

²⁶² The Social Liberal Party had been founded in 1905 as a breakaway group from the broad Liberal Party formation. The party programme focused on among other issues democratic liberalism and care for the vulnerable in society.

Local cultural life, except for church life, was limited to the private sphere. There was an annual autumn ball on the individual farms and, possibly, an outing for the staff. Otherwise, private gatherings provided the usual framework, since there were no premises for public gatherings or cultural events.

Since 1898, the inhabitants of Hvidovre had had access to the joint municipal library that was established in Valby, but this access was discontinued at the time of the municipal division.²⁶³



Højgården 1909. In the doorway the mistress and the daughter of the house and next to the horse the oldest son. More remarkable is the old lady to the left whose identity is not known but whose stature signals a lifetime of hard manual work and her presence on the photo tells of her connection to the farm. Nothing in the photo indicates that modernity arrived to Hvidovre at exactly the same time with the first subdivisions for summer-houses for the urban population.

Forstadmuseet B193

CONCLUSION

The portrait of Hvidovre prior to what posterity saw as the introduction to a new development is a picture of a local community in the midst of a periurban phase. The

²⁶³ Bertelsen, J.Ø., ed. *Det begyndte i et udhus*, Hvidovre 2006, p 10.

decade began with the municipal division and the subsequent organization of a local municipal structure in Hvidovre, and it ended with the first overall parcelling-out of holiday home plots.

During the decade, population composition was not significantly influenced by the influx of commuters, but the proportion was clearly increasing. Around the turn of the century the pattern of occupation began to move in an urban direction. Industrial work-places appeared in Valby within walking distance and the bicycle now gave access to the more distant industrial plants in Copenhagen.

Commuting from Hvidovre to the Copenhagen labour market developed rapidly after the turn of the century, and the industrial worker became part of the local community, but this happened – with the exception of the two properties discussed – without the changes in the settlement pattern and housing-structure that could have signalled urbanization.

Commercial development was a continuation of the situation in the last decades of the 1800s, and the structural beginnings of urbanization, as reflected in the construction of the two rental properties, proved to be a parenthesis. It took about 30 years from the construction of the first two properties before the next large rental property was built in Hvidovre.

The stagnation in the population growth at the end of the nineteenth century meant that settlement in Hvidovre only developed slowly. All the same there were hints of new departures with the building of the two rental properties in several storeys. They pointed in the direction of a future development like the one that Valby had undergone a few years before, but ran entirely contrary to the political view of the time that Hvidovre would not undergo an urbanization in the coming decades.

The building of the rental properties draws attention to the fact that there were now tenants in every fourth property in Hvidovre. This was a housing development that was far from the agrarian society's classic close connection between dwelling and employment, and was a strong indicator that a new development process was in progress.

The snapshot shows on the one hand a municipality where no great development could be observed in the physical aspects, nor did the population figures show any signs of new ongoing processes. But as an underlying factor there was movement and a structure that was far from that of the period before the beginning of the periurban phase.

What is first and foremost conspicuous is the ownership of the land and the farm structure. The sizes of the farms were now far less homogeneous, with a handful of very large farms at one end and small farms with adjacent land, which in many places would be regarded as smallholdings, at the other. At the same time the majority of the large farms were owned by non-locals.

The range of Hvidovre's possibilities as a periurban sphere was suggested by the moving-in of an artist, and in that context it was also hinted that the settlement qualities of the village at this time were not without some attraction for a creative class.

The all-dominating political issue of the time was the separation from Valby and Vigerslev. The course of the related case gives us insight into the self-understanding and the understanding of the outside world of the leading circles in the local community.

Hvidovre shows both a total lack of understanding of administrative working procedures and of the obvious asymmetrical power relations between a small municipal municipality and the capital of the country – symbolized by the people who acted as negotiating partners, where the schoolteacher from Hvidovre faced the Copenhagen Mayor Borup, the head of a ministerial department and a law graduate.

The local political development in the period was otherwise marked by the horticulturalists' gradual takeover of the position of the farmer class and by an incipient party-politicization of the municipal council's work. But we see no traces of understanding in the municipal council that they stood on the threshold of a brand new challenge among the wide range of possibilities offered by the periurban phase.

In this respect, the municipal council in Copenhagen was right in its prediction that urban development in Hvidovre lay far in the future. The alternative type of urbanization that Hvidovre was soon to experience was based on individual ownership and a new cultural dispensation in which the transition from rural to suburban went through ownership of leisure properties.

No sources suggest that there was any idea locally in the controlling strata in Hvidovre in 1910 that Hvidovre would soon be home to an urban population. Nor was there anything to suggest that people felt threatened by the developments that began in 1908.

The municipal council was equipped with the administrative tools that could guide future development. Through the technical regulations (road, building and sanitary regulations) it should have been possible for the municipal council to control future settlement in the municipality and thus control both the extent and the nature of inward migration – and consequently the local economy.

As long as the municipal council did not approve roads in the new property subdivisions, the owners would not be allowed to build houses for permanent habitation, and landowners, holiday home owners and users would not become citizens of the municipality, but simply guests – and they would be welcome as such.

After this Hvidovre for a short time became a part of the dream of the age – a healthy life in light and air for the city's working population.



Besides the artists who lived in the old school between 1910 and 1950 a small colony of painters lodged at Risbjerggård a number of summers around 1920. At the same time there were painters among the early dwellers in the summer-houses who found their motives along the coast. One of these was Victor Johansen who moved to Hvidovre in the 1920's. The artist at work between 1920 and 1940.

Forstads museet B13617



Working the soil at the 'lysthus' at Stengårds Alle in Hvidovre around 1920.

The term 'lysthus' which was used by the authorities in Hvidovre from the arrival of the first summerhouses before 1910 lacks a parallel term in English. The use of the term in Danish was connected with a number of restrictions in the use of the houses which for the same reason in the beginning of this phase most often were very humble.

The owners of the 'lysthuse' were not allowed to sleep in the houses and they were not allowed a chimney so it was impossible to warm warm the houses.

This use of the term disappeared by the end of the 1920's.

Otherwise the term 'lysthus' covers more or less house-like structures for short-term leisure-use in a corner of the garden where you already have a house.

Forstadsmuseet B5843

10 GARDEN CITY – GARDEN SUBURB

This chapter discusses the significance of the international garden city concept for the development of Danish single-family houses in the first decades of the 20th century, their neighbourhoods and the suburbs.

‘Garden city’ has been a frequently used expression in Danish architectural and planning circles for generations. However, what did the realities of ‘garden home’ areas (a ‘garden home’ is a small house and garden) in Denmark have to do with the garden city concept as it was presented and developed within the international garden city movement?

The chapter also attempts to provide a snapshot of the complex perception of the housing market and the issues relating to garden homes that concerned some of the actors who played a part around the time of the First World War in forming the development of the later housing market – with the single-family house and the non-profit housing sector.

As will emerge, types of ownership and dwelling types were both issues in the wars that were waged in the course of time between the speculation-free dwelling and the owner-occupier dwelling, and between garden homes and tenement housing.

From the end of the 19th century, the British creator of the garden city ideology, Ebenezer Howard, developed, introduced and marketed the idea of the garden city as a future instrument in the urbanization process, and his ideas gained acceptance – at the international as well as the national level – with the publication of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* in 1902.

Howard’s ideas were a reaction to the experience of urbanization in industrialized England, which was characterized by seemingly endless urban growth, and his thinking was an attempt to formulate an alternative direction for urbanization in relation to the disorganized and ‘disorderly’ surface area growth that was a feature of the big city. In a strange mixture of romantic traditionalism and pre-modern planning ideology, he designed an urban ideal that touched on so many contemporary trends that attempts were made to some extent to realize what in many ways were quite utopian ideas.

Howard developed his ideal model for the location of urban growth in satellite towns and with a new hierarchical system of towns connected by a well-developed infrastructure. The role of government in relation to ownership of the land where urban development was to take place was central to the thinking behind his *Garden City*.

Although he was not an architect, Howard contributed to the expansion of the boundaries of the future activity of architects to include fundamental social conditions. Parts of his urban planning ideals may be regarded as an anticipation of modernism, while at the same time the aesthetics of the movement took a point of departure in contemporary Art Nouveau.²⁶⁴

Attempts were immediately made in England to realize the garden city concept, and it won international acclaim by virtue of the fact that it pinpointed environments where work was already being done to remedy the obviously challenging conditions that followed in the wake of the rapid growth of the industrialized city. Simultaneously, throughout the whole of the industrialized world, work was in progress on social reforms in the fields of social and hygienic conditions, the supply of housing, architectural quality and urban planning.

In Denmark, inspiration from Ebenezer Howard proved to more a matter of semantics than a response to the idea as a whole. It was the actual term ‘garden city’ that made a tremendous impact, while there was no understanding of Howard’s plan for self-sustaining satellite towns in a hierarchical urban system.

The second element that caught on to a high degree in Denmark was the inherent demand for urban planning, to the extent that over the next 50 years Danish urban planners considered Ebenezer Howard as the originator of their activities.²⁶⁵

The third element in Howard’s complex of ideas had to do with strong public involvement in land use policy. In Denmark, this had no impact in the context of garden home thinking, but it took hold in narrow circles working with the housing issue.

As could be noted as early as 1920, in a book on workers’ conditions and social reform, the philosophy behind the international ideas was lost when the ideas were transferred to Denmark:

²⁶⁴ Brochmann, O. *Huse*, 1969, p. 319

²⁶⁵ Bidstrup, K. *Ebenezers disciple – fra dansk byplanlægnings pionertid*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium 1971

*'The first garden cities were soon imitated at home and abroad, but as a result of the combined forces of private speculation and advertising, several new ventures merged into the latest fashion in villa-building, to the exclusion of non-profit purposes, the common right to land and plots, etc.'*²⁶⁶

In Denmark, with some few exceptions, the active and direct role of the state and municipalities in creating the foundation for the genuine garden city was ignored in practice. Instead, 'garden cities' became the term for suburban neighbourhoods of single-family detached houses (also known as 'villas') or semi-detached houses on their own plots, to which special green qualities were attributed.

The brief 'municipal socialism', which was practised in a small number of Danish urban municipalities such as Esbjerg and Nakskov in the period before and during the First World War in particular, could have formed the basis for the development of 'garden cities' in accordance with the international model. However, there was no room for experiments involving public ownership/control of land in the political landscape of the 1920s, with its financial crisis and reactionary politics.

In Denmark, the energy that could have contributed to the development of a socially responsible housing sector where land ownership and any possible speculative profits were not individual, was unequivocally channelled into the new and rapidly growing non-profit sector. There might have been room for garden city experiments here, but apart from the early impact of the housing association 'Grøndalsvænge', over the subsequent years the social housing sector mainly developed multi-storey buildings in purely urban forms.

In Danish suburban practice, it was not obvious that Ebenezer Howard's radical ideas for the urban development of the future were based on his belief that the late nineteenth-century suburbs in Britain were a nuisance, among other things because of their unstructured sprawl, and that they should therefore be replaced by actual urbanization/city formations.²⁶⁷

The Danish garden cities of subsequent decades were a clear contradiction of this ideal, as purely suburban areas. Fundamentally, the Danish garden cities represented a contrast to Howard's thinking.

²⁶⁶ Holck, A. *Arbejderforhold og socialreform i det nittende Aarhundrede*, Gyldendal 1920, p. 182

²⁶⁷ Clapson, M., Hutchison, R. *Suburbanization in Global Society*, Research in Urban Sociology, Vol. 10, 2010, p. 10

BOLDSSEN, THE GARDEN HOME AND THE SMALLHOLDER MOVEMENT

Ebenezer Howard's ideas for reforming urban growth had an impact on professional circles in Denmark, where interest in reform had already been expressed, *inter alia* in medical, engineering and architectural circles. Outside these circles it was, as previously mentioned, the solicitor F.C. Boldsen, who in 1912 secured a Danish platform for the dissemination of Howard's thinking with the publication of *Haveboliger i Danmark for de mindre bemidlede Samfundsklasser* ('Garden Homes in Denmark for the less fortunate classes of society').

He had visited the English model garden city Letchworth in 1909, and this was a direct source of inspiration that fed into his own background experience along with his work in the Danish smallholder movement, where he had helped to establish 250 smallholdings in 1904.²⁶⁸ The parallel course of Boldsen's commitment to the work to establish more agricultural smallholdings and his engagement in the garden home issue, continued for a number of years, and Boldsen's involvement in both movements helps to illustrate the relationship between the single-family house movement and the smallholder movement.

During this period, the smallholder movement²⁶⁹ was engaged in solving the problems of securing the livelihood of farm workers, while at the same time retaining them as agricultural manpower.

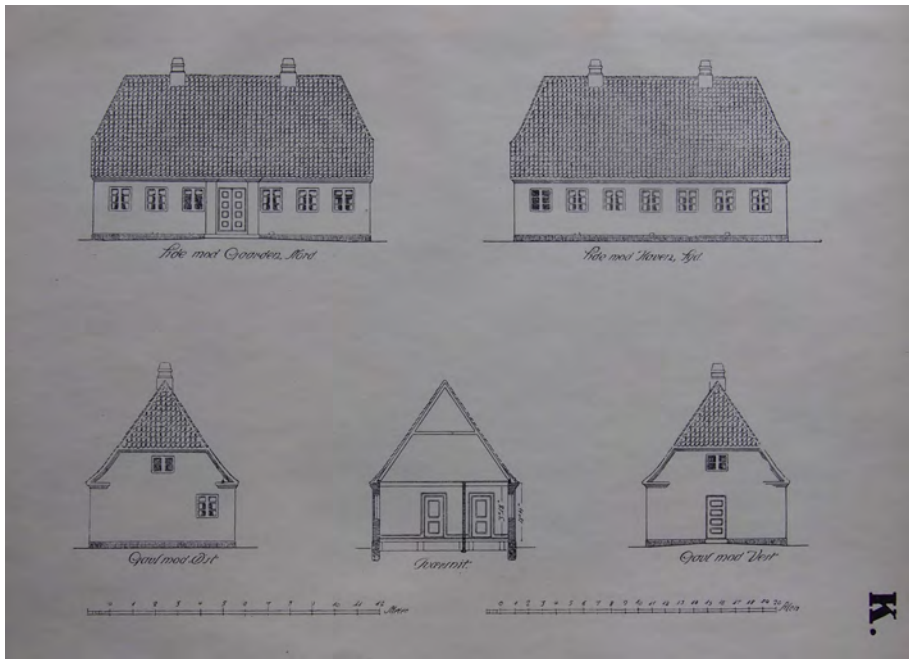
In 1899, the Danish Parliament passed a law on the provision of plots of land for farm workers, which allowed for government loans of up to 90% of the loan value. The legal framework was extended in 1904 when two other large groups of rural labourers in the countryside, market gardening and brickmaking workers, were included in the scheme. Five years later, new legislation shifted the focus somewhat, and now there was talk of 'smallholdings', not 'plots of land for agricultural workers'. Agricultural workers were now to be elevated to the status of smallholders – i.e. small-scale farmers. With the legislation of 1919, public land was made available for smallholders, whose plots were now to be of a size that could support them.

The crucial parallels here with the garden city and single-family house movements were on the one hand the goal of the development process – a general improvement

²⁶⁸ Lind, O. and Møller, J. *FolkeBolig Boligfolk*, BL 1994, p. 60

²⁶⁹ Jensen, H. *Dansk Jordpolitik 1757-1919*, vol II, 1945, pp. 405-428

of the rural working class; and on the other hand the provisions of the most recent legislation concerning ownership of the state smallholdings. The key factor in ownership, as developed in the 1919 Act, was that while smallholders were granted usufruct and tenure, payment did not take the form of a purchase price but of a ground rent based on the land value. This organization of the holdings was close to the Georgist-inspired form of ownership which was a requirement of the garden city movement. This lengthy process in the development of housing conditions for smallholders led the single-family house movement to believe that something similar could be done for the urban workers.



This drawing for a small-hold illustrates the close connection between the small-holder movement and the movement for bettering the architectural standards in one-family houses. The illustration might be made by the architect Ivar Bentsen, who was also active in the organization 'Bedre Byggeskik'.

Tegninger til Husmandshuse, Erslev & Hasselbalch, København 1914

The architectural environment in Denmark that was open to innovative thinking about city conditions and related to Howard's thinking consisted of circles that were already behind initiatives like *Akademisk Tegnehjælp* ('Academic Design Assistance') which procured inexpensive access to architectural knowledge for

developers from 1907, and *Landsudstillingen* ('the National Exhibition') in Aarhus in 1909, with Anton Rosen, among other architects, as one of the organizers.

Anton Rosen also recommended Boldsen's work about garden city ideology in the preface to the book together with two other well-known architects, Martin Nyrop and Andreas Clemmensen. A fourth architect who also found inspiration in some of the garden city thinking was Charles I. Schou, whose urban planning work, not least with *Vigerslev Haveforstad*, 1915-18, was related to the aesthetics of Howard's garden city.

Immediately after his little book on the garden home was published, F.C. Boldsen founded *Dansk Haveboligforening* (the Danish Garden Home Association). The board of the association included the above-mentioned architects, Nyrop and Rosen, who were joined by the art historian Vilhelm Lorentzen and the trade unionist and politician Jens Chr. Jensen.

The Danish angle on English garden city thinking was in the longer term primarily characterized by the aesthetic/craftsmanship and the urban planning aspects. This is stressed, for example, by the fact that both Nyrop and Rosen were involved in the founding of the association *Bedre Byggeskik* (Better Building Practices) in 1915, with the aforementioned William Lorentzen as the driving force. Some of the same individuals were later involved in founding *Dansk Byplanlaboratorium* (the Danish Town Planning Institute) in 1922. It was not least William Lorentzen who was a key person here, and the chairman of *Bedre Byggeskik* was the institute's first president.²⁷⁰

In terms of time and the stage of development, the ideas of the international garden city movement suited the challenges of urban development and urbanization in large parts of western and northern Europe, and thus in Denmark too. This was not least the case when the focus was turned on the triumphal progress of the single-family house in the new suburban formations at the beginning of the 20th century and the work with various economic/social forms of organization in relation to the home.

At the international level, unsurprisingly, there were very different types of specific frameworks for the development of the new suburban structures. In Norway, for example, the association element was central:

²⁷⁰ Bidstrup, K. *Ebenezers disciple – fra dansk byplanlægnings pionertid*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium 1971, p. 28

*'The association structure was an ingrained part of the early Norwegian suburb. From the purchase to the functioning of the neighbourhoods. In addition, there were the numerous interest groups'.*²⁷¹

In Sweden, the process corresponded in some respects to the contemporary development in Denmark. The Swedish *Egna hem* (Own home) movement, with roots in the 1890s, was successful with the developments that had not met with success in Denmark: the coupling of housing efforts for agricultural workers with similar efforts for the urbanized workforce.

Where the Danish agricultural workers' miserable housing conditions led to new legislation for smallholdings, similar conditions in Sweden led to the establishment of *Egna hem* which, as a rural movement, aimed to improve housing conditions for agricultural workers. *Egna hem* subsequently widened its scope to provide services for industrial workers in the cities, and in cooperation with the state and municipalities, the movement became a major player on the Swedish single-family house market at both rural and urban levels.

*'The so-called own home movement started in connection with migration from Stockholm ... From about 1905, workers could be granted 'own home' loans by Parliament, and the own home community grew. Anybody, civil servant or worker, was to have the opportunity to obtain their own home on their own free plot at a reasonable price. However, building one's own home often required a large cash payment. In 1927, the city of Stockholm opened a 'small-house office'. Those who had previously been unable to afford it could now build their own homes by dint of their own labour'.*²⁷²

In Denmark, according to the existing literature, association formation was also central to the development of some new single-family house projects. This literature is primarily based on studies of selected projects that form part of canonized Danish housing and architectural history and, most recently, studies in the early association-based parcelling-out initiatives such as the Danish 'national gardens' which Peter Dragsbo has identified as significant players in the early single-family home and garden movement.²⁷³

²⁷¹ Myhre, J.E. in Helle, K. et al. *Norsk byhistorie*, Oslo 2006, p. 374

²⁷² <http://www.stockholmslansmuseum.se/faktabanken/villor-och-egnahem-1890-1910-tal/>

²⁷³ This is the general picture that emerges in recent housing literature and which is depicted in an exemplary way in Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008



The Copenhagen street-car workers building-association 'Lyset' (the Light) in Valby from 1912-14 is one of the housing-projects famed in Danish history: Well-organized, good architecture and a planned layout with a shopping-facility.

Poul Sverrild 2016

If we shift our focus from what was peculiar to the movement to the more general picture in the shape of the large undescribed mass of parcelled-out properties for immediate or later development with single-family houses, a more varied picture emerges. In this picture, the subdivisions were often not based on the formation of associations, but were more a tool for realizing plans for parcelling out that already had been designed for speculative purposes.

The ideal and ideologically-based formation of associations in the Danish single-family house sector was not decisive in the longer perspective, but it does not seem to have been crucial to the great mass of property subdivisions at the time either. This does not make the idea-generated housing initiatives of the time less interesting, but it does argue for a shift in the field of study from the relatively few idea-based housing projects that were completed towards a search for answers to why the ground-breaking ideas of the time did not make a greater impact.

In Denmark, Boldsen's to a great extent personally represented an ideological/organizational connection between the improvement of the housing conditions of the rural proletariat and of industrial workers, the connection that *Egna hem* came to stand for in Sweden. Boldsen started his political and organizational housing career with the Danish smallholder movement, and subsequently linked it to the international garden city movement. Finally, at the beginning of the 1920s, he took part in the single-family house movement, which regarded itself ideologically as an urban smallholder undertaking.

Boldsen was simultaneously engaged in the social housing movement from its tentative beginnings prior to the First World War, and he became a key figure in the foundation of *Københavns Almindelige Boligselskab* – KAB (a still-active non-profit housing association in Copenhagen) in 1920. His multi-faceted engagement in housing emphasized the complexity of the housing area at the time and the ideologically complex landscape of possibility offered by urbanization.

In the circle of architects who represented the values behind the Danish 'better housing practices' movement, the link between housing challenges in rural and urban areas was also evident. For example, Ivar Bentsen was one of the major architects who were committed to both the improvement of urban garden home architecture and the development of qualitative and aesthetically better smallholdings.²⁷⁴

The link between working-class housing in rural and urban districts that characterized some of the contemporary actors in the early years of the 20th century (and for more than the first two decades in the case of Boldsen), was among the agendas that were less visible in the subsequent phase where, to an increasing extent, the organization of housing for industrial workers was handled by the new non-profit housing organizations.

Another housing policy agenda, which soon disappeared, was the link between the new social sector and the private housing sector. When Boldsen took the initiative to found KAB, which would later become one of the biggest actors in the sector, his engagement in the smallholder movement ceased in favour of commitment to the social sector. However, he remained engaged in the garden city movement.

A prospectus for the working basis was drawn up when KAB was founded, where it was stated that in addition to the normal tasks of an ordinary housing association, it

²⁷⁴ *Tegninger til Husmandshuse*, publ. by Sjællands og Fyns Stifts Udstykningsforening, Copenhagen 1914, unpaginated.

should also be possible for KAB to invest in private building and commercial premises.²⁷⁵

I have found the passage in question repeated in only one place in recent literature on housing history, although (or perhaps because) it testifies to a vision of an open housing market free of the dichotomy that has subsequently characterized the relationship between public and private housing.

The survival of other parts of the prospectus in later housing history is clearly due to the experience of its contemporary relevance in later times. This applies for example to the basic work on KAB by Gøsta Knudsen and Jørgen Nue Møller, who, while they published the passage above, were more concerned with the quaint and what was relevant in the present:

*'It is quainter and more exciting that the investment prospectus also includes a task that "conditions daily make increasingly urgent – that is, the construction of communal dwellings for single men and single women. Furthermore, housing with shared kitchen, central heating and kindergartens so that servants can be avoided and the housewife can spend the day in self-employed work". This last quote says a lot about the breadth and the modern perspective in KAB's working basis – as well as something about the group of people that were behind KAB's foundation'.*²⁷⁶

It is clear that topics such as general social conditions, women's conditions and collective thinking, which were to be central agendas in subsequent decades, are still experienced as immediately relevant and have been the subject of many studies. Nevertheless, the possible perspectives in the contemporary vision of crossover activity between the public and the private housing market and the contemporary understanding of a more coherent housing market have remained unexplored.

In the light of the polarization of the housing market, particularly during the post-1950s, an examination of the nature, extent and potential of the general commitment to the private sector would help to shed light on the divisions in later Danish housing policy that particularly influenced the social landscapes of the suburbs.

²⁷⁵ Asbæk, K. ed. *Et dansk boligselskabs historie*, KAB 1945, p 311

²⁷⁶ Knudsen, G., Møller, J.N. *Mellem borgerskab og boligfolk*, 2008 (KAB), p. 12

THE GARDEN CITY, THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE, THE ALLOTMENT GARDEN, THE VILLA AND THE COUNTRY HOUSE

In Denmark, it makes sense to involve the international garden city movement when describing the part of the Danish housing market that had to do with the efforts of the industrial working class and parts of the lower middle class to improve their housing situation in the wake of the good years in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

There is general agreement in the Danish literature that no attempt was made to establish garden cities in accordance with Ebenezer Howard's thinking. In 1923, the Town Planning Institute published a report that examined the possibilities for establishing a garden city proper in Denmark. The focus of the report was, naturally, town-planning constraints in Denmark, but it also mentioned professional barriers based on local experience of business localization and marketing patterns. In brief, it was noted that it would be difficult to reach agreement with state and local governments, and that ownership of the land was divided among too many people.²⁷⁷

The fact that the idea had not been and would not be tested in Denmark did not present an obstacle to the entrenchment among planners of Howard's view of the possibility of planning entire urban communities and regions.

From the last decades of the 19th century up to the inter-war period, garden homes and one of their preconditions, parcel gardens, mushroomed around every Danish town of even moderate size, creating new neighbourhoods which, in appearance though not in function, resembled something writers at the time could associate with international garden city thinking.

This coupling constitutes the approach to the single-family house in Peter Dragsbo's work *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret* (Who invented the single-family house district?). Peter Dragsbo's work provided a ground-breaking approach in that it supplemented the urban history angle and the angle focusing on the history of the development of the social housing sector with the cultural and architectural history angle.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Bidstrup, K. *Ebenezers disciple – Fra dansk byplanlægnings pionertid*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium 1971, pp. 37-39

²⁷⁸ Lind, O., Møller, J. *FolkeBolit BoligFolk*, 1994, pp. 58-61

The relationship between the Danish single-family house and the international garden city movement seems less obvious if the link is not only based on the simultaneity between the advent of Howard's garden city thinking and the growth in the number of single-family houses in the new Danish suburbs. This is also the case if the perspective shifts from the professional angle represented by contemporary architects and other trendsetters in the area to the physical reality of the Danish suburb formation.

If Ebenezer Howard's thinking played a crucial role in contemporary Danish urbanization in the catchment areas of cities, one would expect to find significant physical imprints of urbanism in the wake of the introduction of the new thinking in Denmark.

There is no doubt that Danish architects and those interested in housing welcomes Howard's thinking with open arms – although it was not the whole package that enticed them. Similarly, it is easy to see how strongly and swiftly the phrase 'garden city' caught on in the Danish market.

With a single exception, it is difficult to spot parcelling-out or urban construction innovations in Denmark in the wake of Howard's garden city movement that unambiguously point to the specific thinking behind the garden city movement.

The housing association Grøndalsvænge in Copenhagen forms the exception that distinguished itself by adopting several ideas that were then visible in the Danish housing market.

The association behind Grøndalsvænge had been founded as early as 1911²⁷⁹ and in 1912 the association contacted *Dansk Haveboligforening* (the Danish home garden association), where both F.C. Boldsen and J.C. Jensen held key positions. Jensen had just founded the non-profit housing association AAB, and keeping Boldsen's later non-profit career in mind,²⁸⁰ Grøndalsvænge was close to his aesthetic ideals with its English-inspired architecture and structure, and the City of Copenhagen's

²⁷⁹ Cramer-Petersen, L. et al. *Grøndalskvarteret*, 1992, p. 10. Grøndalsvænge was an association founded in 1911 with the objective of providing garden homes for the less well-off. When the land that the association built on was taken over from the City of Copenhagen, the organization of the project was close to the ideals in Ebenezer Howard's thinking, but the project represented a form of organization that did not catch on in the non-profit housing sector.

²⁸⁰ For the 25 years between 1920 and 1945, F.C. Boldsen was director of KAB, which developed into one of the biggest players in the non-profit market.

engagement in the project, which consisted of ownership of the land, was in complete accord with the ideals of the international garden city movement.

With communal land ownership, with an insoluble association controlled by the municipal authority of Copenhagen, with joint responsibility and without owners but with users, speculation-free and with a provision that any surplus should go to social initiatives for the members, Grøndalsvænge lived up to the ideas of the residential structure in the garden city.

It is interesting that in a later description from the 1940s, the city of Copenhagen did not regard Grøndalsvænge as a non-profit project but compared it to other homeowners' associations, and stated that Grøndalsvænge had been a model for homeowners' associations to a less than satisfactory degree.²⁸¹

However, Grøndalsvænge was and remained an exception.

The one strong idea in the project was the basic one of eliminating speculation in housing – the idea that, although with a different structure, became the basic element in the beginnings of the non-profit housing movement.²⁸²

The project's second strong idea was the architectural impact on KAB's earliest projects in the 1920s, led by F.C. Boldsen, which were designed as terrace houses or single-family homes.²⁸³

Finally, F.C. Boldsen's commitment to Grøndalsvænge, like his long-term involvement in the smallholder movement, shed light on his subsequent parallel activity as director of KAB and his role in the homeowners' movement.

Danish writers on architecture trace the history of the single-family house in the form of the middle-class villa in Denmark either back to the mid-19th century or sometimes to the beginning of the century.²⁸⁴ In addition, Danish architectural history has emphasized the classical link with roots in antiquity and the

²⁸¹ *København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41*, Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, pp. 76-77

²⁸² Larsen, J. *På vejen til bedre boliger*, AAB 1987, p. 25

²⁸³ Bakkehusene, Bellahøj, 1921 and Studiebyen, Gentofte 1920-24.

²⁸⁴ Millech, K. *Danske arkitekturstrømninger*, 1951, p. 51 and Weirup, T. *Forstadsland*, 2012, p. 23

1870s-1890s in the shape of the architect-designed, middle-class villa of the 19th century.²⁸⁵



The housing project Grøndalsvænge was built between 1914 and 1928 and was considered a social experiment in its ownership structure. It has later been viewed upon as a transitional form between the building-associations and the later social housing organisations. The uniquely constructed non-profit element in Grøndalsvænge has over time proved so unattractive to the dwellers that a verdict from the state ('Statsforvaltningen') in 2015 gave the individual dwellers the right to cash in the raising value of the plots.

*København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41, Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, p. 76.
Development plan for Grøndalsvænge.*

However, the development of the single-family house, which functionally resembled the villa and would soon prove to be the favourite dwelling of the

²⁸⁵ For example Jørgensen, L.B.: *Danmarks Arkitektur – Enfamiliehuset*, 1985.

Danes,²⁸⁶ followed several other paths than a ‘cultural infiltration’ or inspiration from the garden city movement.

The emergence of the single-family house district seems equally diffuse. It is very difficult to distinguish this from the neighbourhoods with parcelled-out middle-class villas from the second half of the 19th century other than by the basic size of the plots and the characteristics of the houses that were subsequently built.

From the outset, the single-family house in (sub)urban settings was positively charged, and when the first Danish villa district was referred to as a suburb in the early 1860s, it was with enthusiasm for the middle-class/artistic quality.

*‘Outside the ramparts, we even have a street that is beginning to assert its rank as a suburb and assert it in in the most attractive way. It is Rosenvænget between Østerbrogade and Strandpromenaden. Who is not tempted already by the endearing name to think that everything in this place is beautiful, and what Copenhagener who walks along Strandpromenaden on a warm summer evening beside the small stream and looks into the park with its ancient trees, its proud avenues and neat villa does not feel that this is the most beautiful neighbourhood in the city?’*²⁸⁷

Conversely, the single-family house has not attracted professional interest inasmuch as it was not designed by an important architect, so when it exists at all in the history of architecture and planning, it is only because of its architecture or importance for planning. Peter Dragsbo’s *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret?* is therefore the primary work in the fields. This work lifted the favourite dwelling type of the Danes out of obscurity, but still within the framework of understanding of planning and the history of architecture, and with the neighbourhood, not the suburb as structure.

The book charted the development of single-family house neighbourhoods and further investigated the advent of the Danish single-family home. Dragsbo placed the beginning of single-family house development in Aarhus, where the ‘National Gardens’ were founded in 1907, with a forerunner in the years immediately before that. The ‘National Gardens’ was one of many initiatives to ensure the access of broad sections of the new urban population to land and re-establish the opportunity for them to grow their own vegetables. Underlying this was the ideal of giving them

²⁸⁶ In 2010, 63% of Danes over the age of 15 wanted to live in a single-family or terrace house. *Bolig og velfærd*, Center for Bolig og Velfærd 2010, p. 75

²⁸⁷ *Illustreret Tidende*, vol. 4, no. 192, 30-6-1863, p. 292

access to the physical, mental and social health that the contemporary city was threatening.

With a point of departure in 'National Gardens', Peter Dragsbo noted that
*'The single-family house movement came 'from below', created by the working class in the Danish towns and cities through hundreds and hundreds of associations'.*²⁸⁸

By focusing on the National Gardens and their precursors as an introduction to the development of the single-family house, Peter Dragsbo naturally linked the parcel gardens with the older allotments, which had become a nationwide movement towards the end of the 19th century, and at the beginning of the 20th century acquired a periodical and a national association. Although the parcel garden movement and the allotment movement shared ideas about the garden's beneficial effects on morals, health and household budget, they did not share ideas about the objective, because as expressed by the parcel movement in 1921:

*'But we must proceed further [than the allotment movement.] Because of its small size, the allotment garden and the often too uncertain and temporary tenure is only fit to be a station on the road, a passage towards the real goal: the garden home.'*²⁸⁹

The owners' dream of developing kitchen gardens to frame the garden home was already evident in the earliest parcel garden projects in Jutland, and a convincing result of Peter Dragsbo's studies in this area is the simultaneity of the parcelling-out of single-family home plots and the subsequent development of the garden home across the country. There was no foreseeable time lag between the capital and the provinces, and a great number of the significant developments took place around the Danish market towns.

In the search for the Danish single-family house, it has been difficult to find seeds in the literature that specifically point forward to the Danish designed single-family house, and the point of origin for the later development of single-family houses as a form of housing for broader social classes has not yet been elucidated.

From the late 1800s, building associations acted for a broader section of the population than the upper middle-class, and from the first decade of the 1900s, a new development in the parcelling-out of plots started in a market that was no

²⁸⁸ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008, p. 193

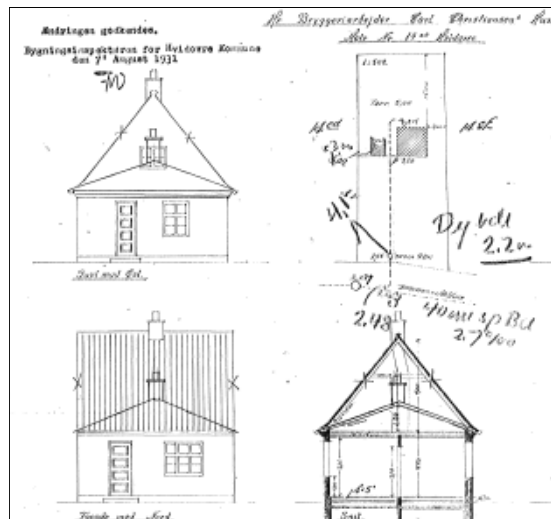
²⁸⁹ *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcelforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, januar, 1921 – no. 9, p. 1

longer restricted to either the upper-middle or middle classes. As Peter Dragsbo has documented, the new plot-parcelling activity occurred nationwide with a timing that did not suggest any direct inspiration from formal international garden home thinking.

The roots of the parcelling subdivisions, which soon became the setting for single-family house building projects, must therefore be sought in a wider range of traditions. The middle-class villa is without doubt one of the roots, with its inherent message of upward social mobility, and at the other end the experiential space of the allotment garden associations also provided inspiration for the dream of 'living in the garden'.

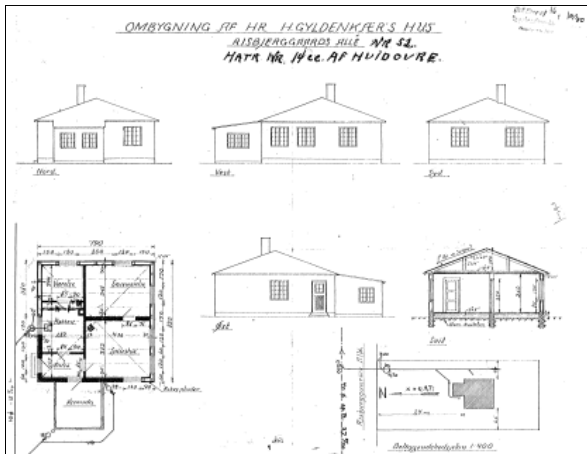
*Garden house on
Risbjerggårds Alle 48.
Converted into an all-year
house in 1927 by architect E.
Dahl-Andersen for brewery
worker C. Christiansen.*

www.weblager.dk



However, a third root is easily overlooked. It consists of the framework of experience that migrants brought with them from the countryside. It was a framework where the rural single-family house was the physical frame, and a little land was both a dream and a means of realizing the dream as a result of the economic value of cultivation. This framework of experience formed the basis for the rural labourers, and, as stated, realizing it was mentioned in the government platforms during the first decades of the 20th century. It was also a framework where people took an active part in building, maintenance and construction, and where architecture was an alien concept.

Garden homes were parcelled out and constructed in the preceding decades that do not fit within the framework of the upper middle-class villa, which had spread in the Copenhagen area, especially in Frederiksberg and Gentofte, during the 1880s.



On Risbjerggårds Alle 52 another conversion of a summer house was approved in 1930. In this case the house did not grow in the process but got double outer walls for insulation. This house belonged to a social democratic municipal council member, prison guard H. Gyldenkaer.

www.weblager.dk

For example, in the 1890s the manufacturer Hermann Ebert created a small pocket of luxury houses in Sundbyvester Amager, houses which in one respect, however, can be seen as a transitional form from the upper middle-class villa to the more modest single-family house of the next decades. The style of the houses indeed clearly referred to the upper middle-class, but they could be paid for in instalments, indicating that the project was aimed at broader sections of the population.²⁹⁰ At the same time, the location on obscure Amager was not obviously attractive to the clientele who built and lived in Frederiksberg and Gentofte.

Similarly, the parcelling-out of small plots started in in 1901 in what is now the municipality of Gladsaxe north of Copenhagen, where the large farmer Klamke sub-divided the land of the farm Søborggård.

*'Most people believed that the man was "mad", for Søborg was far away from Copenhagen by the standards of that time. There were no traffic connections, sewerage, or street lighting and something as elementary as the removal of waste had not been provided for.'*²⁹¹

It was not the upper middle-class that that moved out there, but representatives of a wider section of the population. The single-family house as a 'parcelled-out' house should be viewed as a conglomerate of the above-mentioned factors, combined with the basic ideological perception of the city at that time as unhealthy and dangerous, which made the urban single-family neighbourhood and suburb in the countryside homely and attractive.

²⁹⁰ <http://www.visitcopenhagen.dk/da/copenhagen/eberts-detached-houseby-gdk642833>

²⁹¹ Voss, C., Molin, E. *Voksnes vilkår fra ca. 1800 til 1950*, Gladsaxe Kommune 2004, p. 23



One family house in Eberts Villaby. The location on Amager forced the developer to seek new ways to finance the houses. A century after their construction the houses have turned into the exact upper-class area it was planned to be.

Poul Sverrild 2016

The downside of posterity's adoption of 'the great Danish housing story' is that it not merely overshadows alternative parallel stories, but actually writes other players out of the story and simplifies the picture of the processes that came to shape large parts of the Danish housing landscape.

'The great Danish housing story' is an impressive sequence of events in residential history, acting as a backdrop in countless works of architecture, urban planning, housing history, social history, etc. This sequence is central to a narrative that points to the housing sector as a basic element in the construction of 'the good society.'

The story begins with the Medical Association's social-philanthropic efforts in connection with 'Brumleby' in Copenhagen, continues with the (also externally controlled) 'help for self-help' movement for better housing for workers, and ends the 19th century with emerging government involvement in the building associations' now extremely attractive villa neighbourhoods. Alongside this part of the story is the succession of books from the era on the purely architectural history of housing, providing input to the predominant social narrative on the history of styles.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the narrative shifts focus. It remains a fundamentally romantic tale of socially-minded men, but now the architects become more prominent, and the narrative seeks the roots of later successful movements within housing organization and planning. It provides a natural focus on organization and the creation of associations, furnishing the housing story with a share in the great history of the associations of the time.

Housing organization and planning are two areas of focus that make sense in the light of later developments. The association *Bedre Byggeskik, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium* and the magazine *Kritisk Revy* were assigned roles in the modernization of thinking about housing, and the non-profit housing movement played the role of a catalyst for the realization of the good intentions of architects and planners. From now on, there was a special focus on the good architects' development of modern housing within the framework of the Danish variant of modernism.

A late peak in the housing story is the post-war development with architect-designed, socially oriented and upmarket housing set in green, modernist ideal landscapes. The curve of the story then flattens out with the 1960s when it was found that the modernization process had succeeded, the housing sector had become industrialized and the housing shortage abolished. The story concludes with a footnote on the 'low-dense movement', and with it the tale ends in accordance when the logics of the neoliberal city make a break with the social-radical planning and housing ideology of the 20th century.

The prevailing narrative of housing history is ideologically consistent with the urban planning movement that gained a foothold from the 1920s with the establishment of Dansk Byplanlaboratorium and mainly had a social-radical approach.²⁹²

In this thesis, I have identified two examples of two of the movements/ideologies that have not been included in the historical literature on housing: the parcel development movement as an urban smallholder undertaking and the garden city's demand for public involvement in land policy. Each of them represents directions in housing culture and policy that did not prevail and therefore were not part of the history to which the present can relate.

In Dragsbo's authoritative treatment of the history of the Danish single-family house, the classic mainstream narrative remains fundamentally undisputed,

²⁹² Madsen, H.H. *Skævnational*, 2009, p. 156

although he left space in his description for influence from other sources. For example, he mentions the cultural baggage that was part of the basis whereby the new urban population could design their ‘garden homes’.²⁹³

Overall, however, it has been toned down that, in the self-understanding of the organized parcellists, it was a movement in line with other great movements of the time, such as the labour, the cooperative and the smallholder movements, rather than an offshoot of the allotment garden movement.

It is only in the light of this understanding that it becomes clear that for a time the parcellists had goals that went beyond the acquisition of their own homes. It was a movement that represented those without assets and therefore, among other things, had a goal that the state should engage in promoting their cause through financial support schemes. They compared themselves to the smallholder movement and regarded themselves as an urban smallholder movement that should have the same right to support as the rural smallholders.

Peter Dragsbo also pointed out that the heyday of the parcel movement was in the years around 1920,²⁹⁴ that is in the years before and during the great housing shortage. This was precisely the time of the previously-mentioned legislative initiatives to establish smallholdings, which inspired new initiatives in terms of the parcellists’ wishes for state aid in accordance with guidelines like those from which the smallholders benefited.

Concerning the Housing Act of 1922, it was noted with some wonder by one of the single-family housing movement’s central organizations that one could encounter ‘agrarian/egoistic’ resistance from the Liberal Party, despite the fact that the parcellists’ proposals for support for the parcel movement imitated the system behind the state aid for smallholdings that the Liberals backed.²⁹⁵

The political dimension of the parcellist movement was made invisible by posterity, and this is fully in line with the Danish treatment of ‘garden city ideology’ in Denmark. The introduction of garden-city thinking in the early 20th century is always included in any Danish work on residential and architectural history, and in his book Peter Dragsbo drew attention, in exemplary fashion, to the fact that in

²⁹³ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008, p. ??

²⁹⁴ Dragsbo, P. in Brüel, J. *Parcelhuset – Guide til bevaring og fornyelse*, 1913, p. 8

²⁹⁵ *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcelforeninger og Vilaejere i København og Omegn*, 8, 1922 p. 1

Denmark there is no example of a garden city that accords with Howard Ebenezer's thinking.

In this context Peter Dragsbo refers to a mention of the garden city on the occasion of the 'International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition' in Copenhagen in 1923, initiated by Dansk Byplanlaboratorium, and this source linked the absence of Danish garden cities to the absence of urban planning legislation Denmark.²⁹⁶

The relationship between garden cities and urban planning was an essential part of the international garden city movement's rationale. In Denmark, precisely around 1923, it was quite logical to focus on the urban planning element in the light of the fact that Dansk Byplanlaboratorium had recently been formed, partly with a view to working for a law on urban planning.

The marked focus in Danish planning and architectural history on the importance of physical planning as a precondition for garden-city thinking has meant that less attention has been paid to the part of the concept behind the garden city that had to do with financing, morality, and not least ownership.

'Georgism'²⁹⁷ in a (possibly) moderated form was an underlying but essential agenda in garden-city ideology on the same level as ideas about planning. This was underlined in 1919 when a definition of the garden city was adopted by the '*Garden Cities and Town Planning Association*' (later known as '*The Town and Country Planning Association*').

*'A Garden City is a town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.'*²⁹⁸

However, as Georgism is one of the '-isms' that have not been regarded as relevant for a long time, this dimension of garden-city thinking has basically become invisible in modern Danish literature. Part of the Danish parcel movement's political/ideological basis also disappeared with this invisibility. It was forgotten

²⁹⁶ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, 2008, p.

²⁹⁷ Georgism, an ideology named after the American philosopher Henry George (1839-1897), who argued that natural resources – including land – should belong to society as a whole, which thereby had the right to any increase in the value of the land.

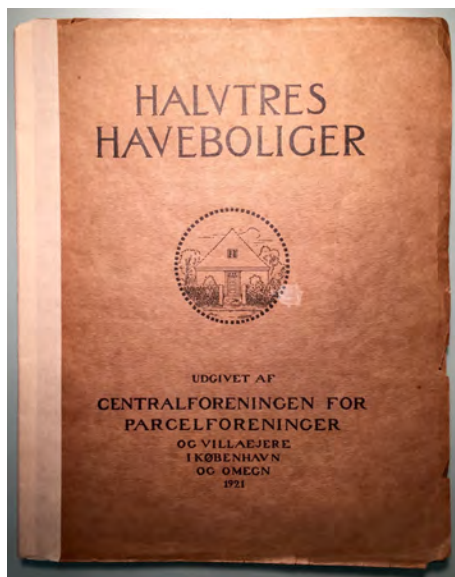
²⁹⁸ Osborn, F.J., Whittick, A.: *New Towns*, 1977, p. 4

that the movement had an overall socio-economic objective, expressed among other ways by the publication of a model book for the design of garden homes in 1922 :

*‘The Central Organization is now reporting for duty as a new link in the chain of efforts that will take the home out of the scope of private speculation in the future.’*²⁹⁹

The organization for the lower-income home-builders ‘Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn’ was forgotten when the architect/planner began to write the history. Accordingly its model publication ‘Halvtres Haveboliger’ offering plans for cheap houses in different styles has also been overseen by writers and researchers in the field of the architecture of one family houses. This in spite of the fact that it contained drawings by a number of the same architects that were active in ‘Bedre Byggeskik’.

Forstadmuseet, Library



In 1919, obvious support for the parcel movement appeared with the founding of the association and later political party *Danmarks Retsforbund* (Justice Party of Denmark), which was largely viewed as a new ultra-liberal agent that opposed state regulation,³⁰⁰ but whose longest-surviving policy area was the idea of state ownership of natural resources. It remains unclear whether any connection can be demonstrated between the parcel movement and people from the party, but if that were the case, it would help to explain the waning of the parcel movement in step with the development of what was a constitutional movement into a political party and the subsequent decline in influence.

As previously mentioned, F.C. Boldsen's *Haveboliger i Danmark* was more important for the development of the non-profit housing sector than for the garden-

²⁹⁹ Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn, *Halvtres Haveboliger*, 1921, p. 3

³⁰⁰ *Dansk velfærdshistorie*, vol II, 2011, Petersen, J.H. *Sammenfatning og perspektivering*, p. 764

home sector. However, Boldsen's pamphlet was clear about its ideas regarding the future opportunities for the garden city and the garden home in Denmark.

'Here in Denmark something fully comparable [to Ebenezer Howard's full-scale garden city] could not easily be imagined; the industries that are sufficiently large to form the basis for such experiments are by and large only to be found in Copenhagen. It would probably be most appropriate for the time being, and as long as the movement in Denmark has not yet made a practical impact, to limit deliberations to lesser forms which probably suit Danish conditions, namely garden suburbs'.³⁰¹

So in summary, the pragmatic and thus also somewhat frivolous Danish handling of garden city ideology and its banishment to architectural and planning circles meant that the understanding of the Danish parcel movement was largely reduced to the experience of the wave of single-family house parcellings that grew up on the outskirts of cities in the years around the First World War and the formation of associations that fenced them in.

Boldsen's interpretation of the garden city in Denmark as a garden suburb should have led to a stronger focus on the ideas that dealt with financing and organization, but in Denmark the garden city was a stepping-stone on the way to the planned community.

In the Danish suburban structure, the garden home was central from the outset in the form of the upper-middle-class villa and the garden home has not lost its popularity since then. Garden homes form neighbourhoods in most suburbs, and in the second half of the 20th century, there were whole suburbs that predominately consisted of single-family homes.³⁰²

THE GARDEN CITY AND HVIDOVRE

It is clear that the design of plot sub-divisions in Hvidovre was not influenced by the ideology behind garden city thinking either. In the period that followed, the sub-divisions in Hvidovre, which commenced in 1908, were created in the intersection between the wish of those who sub-divided the land to maximize the number of parcels in a given area while giving the parcels an appropriate shape that would appeal to the market.

³⁰¹ Boldsen, F.C. *Haveboligbyggeri Danmark for de mindre bemidlede Samfundsklasser*, 1912, p. 9

³⁰² Around Copenhagen, this applies to entire suburban municipalities such as Vallensbæk and Allerød and former municipalities like Stenløse and Ølstykke.

With some few exceptions, this meant sub-divisions where the road network, in accordance with the possibilities offered by the flat landscape, came to form regular rectangular patterns without connections between neighbouring sub-divisions necessarily having been planned.



The early summer house in Hvidovre in more ways than one resembled the small-hold in the countryside. Here the 'potato-field' is right in front of the house marking the importance of the vegetable-production as part of the family economy. A square plot makes a regular field and straight roads gives easy commuting. Not much room here for aesthetic approaches to the lay out of roads and divisions.

Forstads museet B16393

In Hvidovre, the sub-divisions were surveyor subdivisions that were intended for people whose priorities were more utilitarian than aesthetic. The regular form of the parcels would naturally appeal to people from the countryside. They were square like the fields in the countryside, and contemporary sources speak of the cultivation of useful crops on the parcels.

'How many potatoes are consumed annually in Copenhagen households? Hardly more than 200 kg. This amount can be cultivated on a piece of

*land of an ordinary character less than 10 metres square; of the early sorts somewhat less can be cultivated, of the late somewhat more’.*³⁰³

It may seem a little surprising that in Hvidovre no knock-on effect can be traced from the nationally acclaimed parcelling-out development by the architect Ch. I. Schou from 1913, ‘Vigerslev Garden Suburb’. The development was right on the other side of the rivulet Harrestrup Å and must have been familiar to plot owners and others who frequented Hvidovre. Vigerslev Garden Suburb realized a development aesthetic in a form that reflected the British garden city’s villa plots.³⁰⁴ There were winding roads, squares, cul-de-sacs, and on the whole an inappropriate road network and design of the individual parcels.



The lay out of Vigerslev Garden Suburb by Ch. I. Schou was heavily influenced by the garden city movement but when it came to the individual houses and the urban functions that was part of the ideology there is not much to find.

Poul Sverrild 2016

In every way but the aesthetic, Vigerslev Garden Suburb was an ordinary parcelling-out development. Although there was inspiration from the British garden city, it did not relate to the general urban planning idea behind it. Charles I. Schou implied this by calling the subdivision a ‘garden suburb’ rather than a ‘garden city’. Ten years later Schou imagined that true planetary cities could be located at Friheden in Hvidovre and at Husum. In this context, he described neighbourhoods

³⁰³ Hansen, H. *Politikens Havekoloni ‘Valhøj’*, 1989, p. 56. Statement to the newspaper *Politiken* by the gardener Risum in connection with cultivating a garden allotment.

³⁰⁴ T. Knudsen, *Storbyen støbes*, Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1988, p. 175

such as those for which he had designed a subdivision plan in Vigerslev as the negation of Howard's 'planetary city':

*'One should not imagine the form of the individual planetary city as being like the so-called 'Villa cities', of which there are many around Copenhagen; these large, undifferentiated neighbourhoods with villas and gardens, street up and street down, and with about two kilometres to the grocer and four kilometres to the school and the pharmacy.'*³⁰⁵

Although Ebenezer Howard's garden city ideology was not realized anywhere in Denmark in accordance with the creator's ideas, it has been mentioned that the language of the movement quickly gained acceptance in broad circles.³⁰⁶ The term 'garden city' also clearly hit the right note for sales purposes in Hvidovre.

In the context of a development project at Hvidovre Strand in 1917, the seller issued detailed promotional material in which he used the term 'garden city' in the way it has basically been used in practice ever since in Denmark, both within and outside professional circles. The seller had previously used his tavern in Copenhagen as a sales channel for the plots, but now in 1917 he approached a wider audience with a publication:

'... The problem [with urban sprawl and the simultaneous removal of the natural surroundings] seems insoluble – and yet the solution is right at hand and has already been found: Villa city, garden city, whatever you want to call it – that's the only and the right solution. The principle is: each man his own spot of ground at his house! This form of building unites the advantages of the city – close contact, good and fast communications, sufficiently specialized and assorted businesses – with the fresh air and light of nature, access to land and possibly water ...

³⁰⁵ Schou, C.I. *København som Havebycentrum*, copy of article from either daily Politiken or Berlingske Tidende 1923. Forstadsmuseet

³⁰⁶ In 1921 *Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn* had 104 associations in its circle of members. While most of them used a farm or place name as part of the title of their association, the names provide a picture of language use in the area around Greater Copenhagen up to the 1920s. Almost 10% referred to garden-city thinking, and around 15% indicated the dream of the upper middle-class detached house neighbourhood.

14	detached house neighbourhood	(Villaby/Villakvarter)
9	garden city/garden suburb	(Haveforstad)
2	property owners' association	(Grundejerforening)
2	homeowners' association	(Parcellforening)
1	road association	(Vejlag)
1	construction company	(Byggeselskab)

Haveboligen, February 1921

Indeed, it has also transpired that the garden city idea has really caught on in Copenhagen, and in the space of ten years it has spread immensely'.³⁰⁷

The restaurateur who was selling had understood that sales arguments should be about ownership, access to the town and access to fresh air, nature and health, and the message got through in the sense that a great many plots were bought for the 'right' reasons:

'We were always ill. We were two children then, my brother who was born in 1916, and myself, born in 1912. In 1919, a little sister came along. In the end, it got to be too much for our doctor.

– If those children don't come to the countryside, I can't guarantee that we can keep them alive..

In the end, my parents looked for plots of land in different places. We ended up here in Hvidovre, because the water was tempting, and they bought a piece of a ploughed field on Strandbovej 75'.³⁰⁸

Expectations that it would be appealing to use the garden city concept along with the notion of 'villa cities' show that both terms had a positive content. The garden city was associated with a healthy and decent life, and the 'villa city' involved unspoken connotations of upward social mobility. In both cases, this was so, irrespective of whether the parcels were fallow fields filled with couch grass or coastal meadows that could be flooded in the future.

The understanding that even the notion of a future 'villa city' was socially attractive was demonstrated by signage on the border between Hvidovre and Copenhagen. Around 1918, travelling to Hvidovre from Copenhagen along the paved Køgevej, one arrived at Flaskekroen at Harrestrup Å, where the cobblestone pavement became gravel, and one was met by a billboard with the text:

'The Hellerup of the future towards the south!'³⁰⁹

The Danish garden cities were suburban areas, and they were planned before Howard's ideas were introduced in Denmark. The Danish garden cities were built with a judicious mixture of villas, single-family houses and 'temporary' pavilions

³⁰⁷ Thomsen, H.C. *Strandvang – en grundejerforening ved Hvidovre Strand*, 2001, pp. 13-15

³⁰⁸ Sverrild, P. et al. *Glimt af livet i Hvidovre 1925-40*, vol.1, 1985, p. 47. Interview with Gudrun Fjeldsøe. The family arrived in Hvidovre in 1921.

³⁰⁹ Told by the gardener A. Nørballe in *Dengang i tyverne – da byen flyttede på landet*, IN-film 1984. Hellerup is an upper middle class residential suburb north of Copenhagen.

and summer cottages, and their sources of inspiration were equally spread across country and town, upper and lower class. Single-family house neighbourhoods in this period were predominantly constructed under market conditions and without the mobilization of planning beyond the technical aspect, which focused on traffic and sewage.

The development of single-family house neighbourhoods through other logics than the market was the exception, but the literature is full of exceptions. When there is more focus on the 'common' rather than the 'special', a different picture emerges of what is 'significant' than the one towards which the aesthetic professions are oriented.

The regular grid of streets and the square plots was the norm. There is no evidence that the buyers wished for anything else. The few deviations were caused by accidental survival of some of the small holds. Section of aerial photo 1930

Forstadsmuseet
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It was 'surveyor parcelling', not garden-city-inspired subdivisions. that characterized the Danish suburban single-family house neighbourhoods of the period. Nor were single-family houses at that time restricted to either the upper

middle-class or the middle class, because broad groups of the working class were owners of single-family properties in the first decades of the 20th century. It is therefore natural that single-family houses, the main ingredient in the suburbs during that period, originated from several sources, and the international garden city tradition was hardly dominant in relation to cultural seepage, migration, architectural style or socioeconomically defined styles of building.

The emphasis in the sources dealing with the building customs practiced naturally shows a trend from the establishment of the first single-family-home neighbourhoods with their highly differentiated social affinities when the life-mode in question was still new. From the first decades of the twentieth century a massive pressure on aesthetic attitudes began from various types of associations with a point of departure in historical architectural values, and along with the steadily rising level of information and education among the population, middle class and urban norms predominated in the design of the single-family homes.

In the course of a decade up to 1920 the committed, literate and organizing enthusiasts who made their mark around and after the emergence of the garden city ideology created not only a new structure in the housing area with the non-profit sector; they also laid the basis for the planning culture which was increasingly to typify Denmark from the years during World War I.

In terms of the development of a new Danish urban housing culture, F.C. Boldsen was a key figure. In several respects he was also a crossover figure. He combined an interest in the smallholders in the countryside with an interest in the workers in the city; he combined the work for a non-profit housing market with work for owner-occupied single-family homes, and in his own person he combined the dream of the single-family housing ideal with the building of tenement complexes.

In the literature his work has been elucidated in the light of the introduction of the garden-home ideology, the rise of the non-profit housing movement and the work in the major housing commissions; but with the elucidation of his commitment to the single-family residential development movement another dimension emerges.

The Greater Copenhagen single-family-home movement linked its goals to those of the smallholder movement, and its aim was to procure a type of ownership with which less prosperous families could come to live unburdened by the effects of the profit motive. In this F.C. Boldsen was very active for many years, but the work for this cause merged quietly into the general non-profit sector in which other types of organizations were to shape the future.

The attempts to create an alternative single-family-home sector by emphasizing individual solutions within a state-run framework were soon forgotten in favour of more 'modern' agendas of planning, economies of scale and collectivity which the growing non-profit public housing sector could handle.

In Denmark 'garden city' became a programmatic concept which was only about creating housing areas with green surroundings. Only in exceptional cases was it about establishing larger structures which with a little good will could be related to Ebenezer Howard's way of thinking.

The garden city ideology, in terms of its emancipation of housing from the profit motive, was taken over by the non-profit public housing sector, and in terms of its demands for social planning of urban development it was taken over by architectural circles which, through the establishment of the Danish Urban Planning Laboratory, were able to create a basis for a gradually all-encompassing and radical form of social planning. In contrast to the original 'garden city ideology' this was done without public ownership of the land on which the urbanization was to take place.

In relation to Denmark's constantly growing single-family-home sector, 'garden city' in general became a slogan that sold Danes images of the good life and of the potential for upward social mobility.

The largest part of Hvidovre in terms of area was urbanized under the influence of the 'garden city' idea. But it is crucial that the 'garden city' was in practice far from Ebenezer Howard's ideal. The Danish garden city that was realized in Hvidovre and other Copenhagen suburbs in the first decades of the twentieth century was a market product which in general involved neither physical planning nor public financial management.

Nor, in the case of Hvidovre, did this phase offer any great potential for local influence on development. The 'garden city' was a matter of an international urbanization ideal which was adopted in the Danish context by housing ideologues and practitioners, and which in the local world of reality became an instrument for property speculators with no local affinities.



The most attractive recreational quality in Hvidovre was the coastline where a series of bathing and sailing facilities were established immediately after the arrival of the first summer-guests around 1910.

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11 LAND USE, SUMMERLAND AND SHANTYTOWN

‘... it was not proletarians that came to the municipal, but reliable people with an income of at least DKK 1,500 a year ...’³¹⁰

This chapter deals with the part of the periurban phase in Hvidovre that was characterized by the early local manifestations of suburbanization and by the local level’s gradual assumption of an independent and active role in the development process.

The period from the beginning of the 20th century to the middle of the 1920s was when the social profile that in many ways determined the development of Hvidovre for the remainder of the 20th century was imposed on/adopted by the municipality. The rural community with its associated culture was marginalized, and the ground was prepared for the termination of the periurban phase in the following period by the settlement of the last traditionally cultivated open areas

The chapter takes its starting point at the local level but also focuses on the division of roles among the local, the regional and the national. The many players in the periurban landscape are apparent from the processes that were complicated by the general crisis in society in the wake of the First World War.

The development of Hvidovre between 1910 and 1925 was the extreme version of the period’s general suburb formation around Copenhagen. In Hvidovre the Danish version of the garden city developed from ideas of improved health conditions and upward social mobility into the real-world struggle to establish tolerable living conditions for among others those strata of the population who could not afford the housing solutions offered by well-meaning architects, for example in ‘Bedre byggeskik’ or the solidly organized collective framework of the building associations.

There were still several possible routes towards the design of the future suburb at the beginning of this period. At the end of the period, the social profile of Hvidovre’s single-family house neighbourhoods was defined in the later picture of Hvidovre in the Danish version of the board game Monopoly as ‘the bottom of the

³¹⁰ Hvidovregaards Villaby, Forhandlingsprotokol 2.10.1913, p. 4, Forstadsmuseet 2014/22.

board'; while in the middle of the period it was still possible to dream of Hvidovre as 'The Hellerup of the future towards the south'.

In 1908, the arrival in Hvidovre of a new class of landowners who formally only wished to build small summer houses, but who soon proved to be dreaming of building future year-round single-family houses on the plots, set the scene for a turn of events in Hvidovre's periurban phase which, while unexpected locally, was decisive.

The distinctive statement quoted above about the type of the future parcel-owners heralded the advent of a completely new group of land users in Hvidovre. This was a self-assured announcement from one of the very mixed group of people buying the parcels, in this case an egg dealer.

The egg dealer's statement announced a critical field of conflict, both current and future, between Hvidovre's resident major landowners with a background in agriculture and market gardening and those purchasing parcels of land who were linked to the industrialized Copenhagen labour market. The field of conflict was activated immediately on the arrival of the purchasers, and only ceased to be an issue when the parcel-buyers and their successors had settled the political struggle for power in the municipality of Hvidovre towards the end of the 1920s.

The end of the conflict involved two elements: a shift from a right-of-centre to a social-democratic regime and a shift from a regime with rural roots to one dominated by newcomers' links to the city's labour market.

The development of the conflict in Hvidovre was a natural consequence of the development of the preceding periurban phase. The right to determine the fate of much of the village land through real estate transactions had been severed from its local connections, and the agents who drove the new development were to a great extent absent from the scene where the conflicts were now to be played out.

As landowners, the parcel-owners acquired interests in Hvidovre and were present in that capacity, but they were absent in the sense that they were not citizens of the municipality and thus had no political influence. They had other interests than the developers, many of whom were not residents of Hvidovre either, and therefore did not necessarily have the same interests as the slightly bigger local landowners, who were usually market gardeners.

During the subsequent process, the residents were caught between land speculators with no interest in Hvidovre other than profit and the new parcel-owners, who

wanted local roots in their urbanized life. But the residents themselves were not a homogeneous group. The remaining major landowners had the prospect of large land development gains in connection with future urbanization, while the market gardener group and the landless could anticipate major local changes without obtaining corresponding gains.

For the group of Hvidovre's small landowners, artisans and rural labourers, the only sure prospect in connection with urbanization was increasing expenses for education and the social area, and, of course, cultural changes in accordance with the nature of the group of people who bought the parcels.

Besides its obvious local significance, the 'illegal settlement' and reluctant suburbanization in Hvidovre has wider relevance and should be studied and discussed in the light of the fact that in recent years the focus of international historical research on the suburbs has shifted from being centered around individual suburbs and the relationship between the centre and the periphery to deal with the social aspects of the suburbs with a starting point in their current reality.³¹¹ This work suggests that the location of Hvidovre Municipality in the social landscape of Greater Copenhagen throughout the second half of the 20th century is a natural consequence of the outcome of the cycle of conflict that took place in connection with development and construction in the decades around the First World War.

The end of the conflict coincided with the settlement of the last big areas of land in Hvidovre, which remained undefined with respect to future use, thus representing the conclusion of the periurban phase. Subsequently, the suburb of Hvidovre was a fact in terms of the structure of settlement, and the future social structure was now dependent on national and regional housing policy. At the same time the future development of Hvidovre, in accordance with the growing internationalization of ideals, ideas and structural movements, was part of an increasingly common suburban culture.

It is with good reason that very little attention has been paid in the Danish context to the role of the illegal settlements as part of urbanization in the first part of the 20th century. Historians have mainly concentrated on the analysis of the emergence of the Danish welfare model from the late 19th century, and the story of ideals, politics and collectivism has had difficulty accommodating a history of illegal and individual approaches to solving what posterity viewed as society's common problem.

³¹¹ Juhainen, J.S. 'Suburbs', in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, P. Clark ed., Oxford 2013, p. 792.

To a high degree, the local relevance of the story is due to the fact that the self-built suburb, as part of the working-class history of the period, has not been taken as seriously as the story of the middle- and upper-class suburbs has. The issue is therefore important from the point of view of identity, but also as the basis for the assessment of a particular local building tradition and social history.

At the regional level, this case is important in the sense that research on the history of the city of Copenhagen in general has refrained from dealing with the suburbs from this period. As previously mentioned, it is also the case that peripheral phenomena such as the activities of the lower social classes in the city's geographical periphery have had a strong tendency to be overlooked in classic urban history with its focus on the centre and a distinct inside-out perspective.

Danish urban history and welfare literature has to a high degree underexposed the fact that at times there has been widespread illegal and irregular habitation in Denmark in the wake of industrialization. This urban development variant is obviously not just a Danish phenomenon, but applies to most of Western Europe. The underexposure of this older urbanization history could be linked to the corresponding overarching and current challenges of the informal urban and suburban formations that exist in the Third World.³¹²

Norwegian urban history, for example, refers to the same architectural response to the housing shortage after the First World War that existed in Hvidovre, but without the civil-law dimension presented in the case of Hvidovre.

*'But not so few people began to build sheds or small huts that they later expanded into proper houses'.*³¹³

In his article on the irregular settlements and habitations around Berlin, J. Urban substantiated his thesis that the settlement was an integral part of the urban fabric and not a phenomenon that could be marginalized in the history of the city.³¹⁴

At the national level, the significance of the Hvidovre case is underlined by the fact that it affected the passing of new national legislation concerning the legality of the

³¹² Urban, F, 'The Hut on the Garden Plot: Informal Architecture in Twentieth-Century Berlin', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, University of California, vol. 72, no. 2, June 2013, p. 221.

³¹³ Myhre, J. E. 'Striden om den gode byen' in Helle, K. et al. *Norsk byhistorie*, Oslo 2006, p. 375.

³¹⁴ Cf. note 312

settlements. When legislation on the establishment of population registers in Denmark was being drafted, which took place in the same period as work on the irregular situation in Hvidovre and Rødovre, the population registration commission found that it was unable to determine sure boundaries between the concepts of 'residence' and 'sojourn'.³¹⁵

Problems in the relationship between the settlement wishes of the population and the needs of the authorities for control and regulation still prevail, although this now takes place in other parts of the country and in a different welfare policy context.

THE 'SUMMER HOUSE' COMES TO HVIDOVRE

Hvidovre was not urbanized through the construction of affordable housing blocks, which had been the case in the Copenhagen '-bro areas' – i.e. working-class areas in the inner suburban ring – and a little later in the territories incorporated into the city of Copenhagen.

Hvidovre's first mass subdivision of plots for building 'summer houses'³¹⁶ in 1908 was a new direction in the municipality's periurban phase which was concretely present as changes in the landscape, and included the periodical presence of new groups of people.

Surveyors' markings in the landscape suddenly showed a completely new area structure with a regular road network that defined predominantly regular, rectangular plots of about 700-800m², each with access to one of the municipality's few public roads.

Over the preceding generation, the local community had experienced the parcelling-out of medium-sized properties as market gardens, or of smaller plots for family pensioners' housing or for dairy-farming tenants, but this was an extension of the existing settlement and cultivation culture. One of the two multi-storey buildings that were constructed was beside one of the local access roads and did not change

³¹⁵ Willumsen, H., *Folkeregistreringen 75 år i 1999*, Ministry of the Interior, CPR office, management department of the Ministry of the Interior 1999, unpaginated. <https://cpr.dk/media/166365/Folkeregistreringen%2075%20år%20i%201999.pdf>

³¹⁶ The contemporary term for the buildings that could be built on the plots in Hvidovre was mainly *lysthuse* (lit. 'pleasure houses', i.e. summer houses for occasional use); cf. *Attestbog for Hvidovre Kommune*, Forstadsmuseet. See page 230.

the structure of the landscape, and the other was constructed in the village along the village street.

With the new subdivisions, Hvidovre was facing a totally different development that intervened in land use on a scale that had not been seen since the emergence of the market gardens. The new subdivisions changed the landscape, traffic patterns, building culture and modes of life.

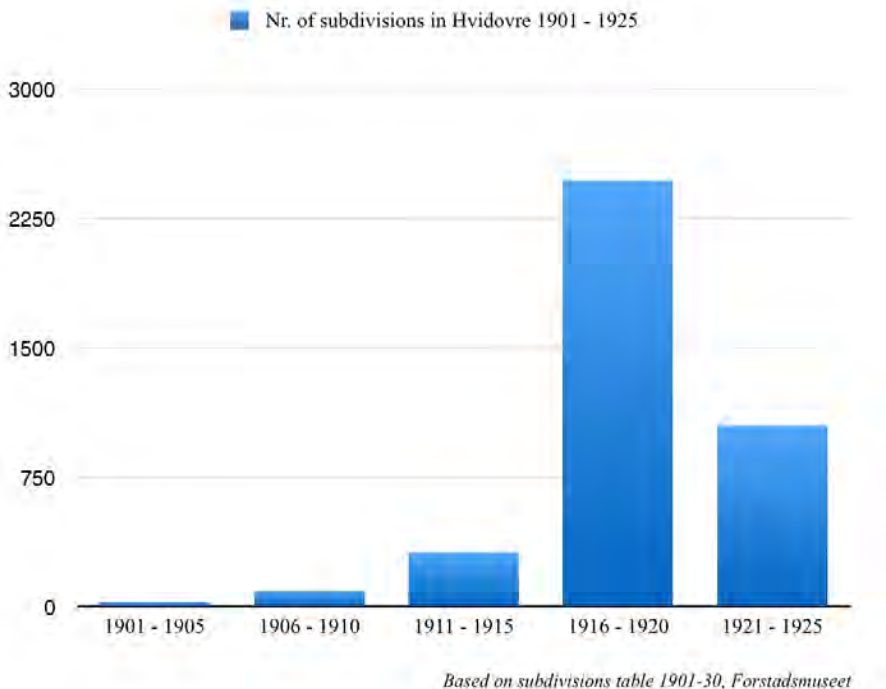


Hvidovres qualities as summer-land are obvious in this oil from the tidal meadow. Open skies, bathing facilities and access to yachting. Oil by Einar Parsley, 1930.

Forstadsmuseet Z4

At the formal level, the subdivision of plots for ‘summer houses’ did not represent a natural extension of suburban formation in the incorporated areas of Copenhagen. In Valby, the development of residential areas was initiated in the form of early villas and multi-storey rental properties and later with one- or two-family houses in the housing associations.

As a new ‘summerland’ with its small houses, Hvidovre was on the verge of becoming complementary to the city of Copenhagen – and not an extension of the city. Contemporaries could obviously have seen the development as a natural



The radical development in the number of subdivisions in Hvidovre in the first decades of the 20th century is depicted in this table. From the modest beginning around 1910 it exploded during WWI. It is tempting to see the demand for plots in the light of the housing shortage, but still it was a minority of the plots that came to hold summer houses with illegal dwellers.

The ordinary use of plots in Hvidovre for summer house activities is by now less documented than the illegal use.

Together the two simultaneous summer house cultures illustrate the development possibilities of the period: low status squatters or middle class summer house owners with a first home in Copenhagen.

After 1925 the curve flattened and practically no subdivisions occurred after 1965.

extension of the allotment movement, had it not been for the fact that the parcel-buyers, almost from the very beginning, pointed out they did not see themselves as 'summer house' owners but as future homeowners.

The development of leisure-home plots in Hvidovre was not a special case. It took place in some rural communities that adjoined towns and were not willing to undergo urban development.³¹⁷ In terms of the current rules, municipal councils were not able to halt parcelling-out if it was approved by the Ministry of Agriculture, which had to abolish the agricultural zoning of the land that was to be developed. But municipal councils were permitted an influence on the nature and use of the houses that could be built on the parcels.

The municipal council's strongest tools for regulating the development were the construction, health and road ordinances. Referring to these statutes, the municipal councils could decide the conditions that had to be met if the houses on the land were to be used for other purposes than daytime 'sojourns'.

As early as the first mass parcelling-out in 1908, Hvidovre Municipal Council noted that a number of applications for building permits were now being submitted and that the council was unable to handle these without an administrative body.³¹⁸ From 1908 the proceedings were therefore transferred to the municipality's externally associated engineer, who could grant planning permission for 'summer houses' (*lysthuse*), provided they were not used for overnight stays, that they were not equipped with either a fireplace or a chimney, and that a water closet was not installed.³¹⁹

The Municipal Council had been right to hand over the job to a consulting engineer right from the first mass parcelling-out, for it soon turned out that there was an overwhelming number of applications for building permits for this type of house.

³¹⁷ The same development took place not least in the municipalities of Rødovre and Tårnby; and north west of Copenhagen, opposing views concerning similar urban development in 1909 led to the separation of municipalities. The municipal unity of Herlev and Gladsaxe was discontinued as the Herlev part of the municipality did not want to take part in urbanization. In contrast to this, Gladsaxe became one of the later suburban municipalities that was positive about the challenges brought by urbanization in the form of illegal summer houses. The attitude and the role of the Gladsaxe municipality are described in Sørensen, K.J. and Boje, P. *Gladsaxe Kommune*, 2001.

³¹⁸ The Municipal Council in Hvidovre worked without internal administrative assistance up to around 1910, when the local head teacher started working as secretary to the council as a sideline.

³¹⁹ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneråd*, 23.4.1908, Forstadmuseet.

Up to 1925, building certificates were issued for 1,286 summer houses in Hvidovre.³²⁰

One of the consequences of the First World War in Hvidovre and other similarly established peripheral areas of Copenhagen was that the several thousand summer houses came into play as a possible framework for the illegal habitation that was to change the 'summerland' into 'whole-year land'.

Within ten years of the arrival of the first summer house in Hvidovre, widespread illegal and irregular housing was a reality. This was to be followed by a protracted conflict, mainly between the illegal residents and the local population. The conflict left a deep imprint in the form of social consequences and had far-reaching effects on the municipality's physical development. Illegal habitation in Hvidovre during and after World War I was a key element in the widespread illegal suburb formation in the Copenhagen area, and was the most extensive case of irregular urban development in Danish history.³²¹

Between 1916 and 1925, all levels of the political authorities became involved in the case complex from Hvidovre – from municipal councils to county councils and parliament. Police, public institutions and administration at various levels were also mobilized en route, and associations at both the local and regional level came to play a central role.

As mentioned, the conflict became part of the basis for the introduction of a Danish civil registry and led to the stipulation that municipalities could not deny citizens access to public rights simply because of the illegality of their residences. None the less, within just two generations, the long-contested, dramatic and significant issue and its background had been forgotten, despite the fact that the physical traces of the conflict were visible in the urban landscape – both in local building culture and in the social geography of the city landscape as a whole.

The rediscovery and analysis of the extensive illegal habitation around Copenhagen in the same period was to contribute to the understanding of the later urbanization

³²⁰ *Hvidovre Attestbog*, Forstadsmuseet.

³²¹ The expression 'illegal habitation' refers to this specific Danish case where the formal conflict was not about ownership of the land but the right to the specific use of the areas. At the international level, the concept of 'irregular' is in use. This is far more comprehensive, and not least covers present-day known phenomena such as 'shanty towns' and 'favelas', which designate slum formations, especially in the Third World. To the extent that social dimensions in the habitation are involved, it also comes under the concept of 'irregular'.

of the suburbs. On the other hand, the later invisibility of the events has contributed to the framework of understanding for the creation of the Danish welfare model.

The subdivisions in Hvidovre were part of a general subdivision development around Copenhagen during the same period, in a circle west of the city from Kastrup in the south to Gentofte in the north, where the most common shared factor was that the physical process around the subdivisions was the same – here illustrated by conditions in Brønshøj-Husum:

‘Such a homeowners’ association had usually bought some acres of raw arable land and had obtained approval for a subdivision where roads were laid out and covered with slag – this was the cheapest material and the gasworks were booming, so there was enough slag to go round Then they signed up members, each of whom took one of the subdivided plots, and the board of the association took over negotiations with the authorities and made sure it was possible to get water and electricity for every plot...’³²²

SUMMER HOUSE, ALLOTMENT GARDEN, LEISURE HOME, VILLA

The dream of the city-dweller’s direct and personal relationship with nature and the soil, as expressed through the sale of plots for summer houses in Hvidovre, was not new. A classic interpretation of a broader population’s leisure-home culture interprets it as cultural percolation from the upper-class use of the open countryside and its organization of summer homes in the country from the mid-1800s. Then the summer-house culture was developed by artistic circles, who, for example, discovered Hornbæk, Skagen and other fishing villages and coupled the leisure home with something original and simultaneously untouched.³²³ This tale of the holiday homes has triumphed and even today defines the valuation of Danish holiday homes, as evidenced by their current locations.

An alternative interpretation could focus on industry-driven urbanization and the derived ‘poor-man’s allotment’ culture, which in Denmark led to the allotment movement that emerged from the mid-1880s on. It was modelled on the English allotment gardens from the 1700s and the German *Schrebergärten* from the early

³²² Stephensen, H. *Sådan var det*, Gyldendal 1974, p. 66.

³²³ E.g. Bøgh, C. ‘Ferie – hvad er det?’ and ‘Landligere i egen sommerbolig’, in Birkebæk, F. et al. eds., *Sommerglæder*, Arv og Eje 1985, pp. 37-60 and pp. 97-148 and Skov, A. ed., *Bolig og Velfærd*, 2010, p. 122 and 127.

1800s. In contrast to the summerhouse, the allotment movement was based not on desire but on need and was ideologically connected with the simultaneous housing movement. The Danish allotment garden development was based on the middle-class philanthropic approach to solving the subsistence problems of the underprivileged classes.³²⁴ It corresponds to the social-philanthropic phase of the



Map showing the current locations of holiday homes in Denmark. The coastline is of obvious interest to the summer house owners.³²⁵

³²⁴ Tolstrup, I.: *Kolonihaven*, PhD thesis 1980, Ethnology, University of Copenhagen, p. 47.

³²⁵ *Bolig og velfærd - 27 forskningsprojekter om danskerne og deres boliger*, Center for Bolig og Velfærd, 2010, p 122

An informal, self-grown and alternative building style and way of life connected the allotment and the 'summer house' and offered the residents/owners a great deal of influence on the design of their immediate surroundings which was not offered by the city. In a study of the illegal habitation of Berlin allotments and their implications for the design of the city, it is stated about the allotment houses that:

'They were part of a struggle between officially sanctioned and unauthorized forms of dwelling and between modernization and perceived backwardness. This struggle was fundamental in the forming of Berlin as a modern metropolis'.³²⁶

The Berlin allotments – like those in Copenhagen – were fundamentally temporary (although their impermanence tended towards permanence), and in both places constituted a rational utilitarian approach to areas near the city that were in transition. There are historical and current Danish parallels to conditions in Berlin with extensive illegal settlement in allotment gardens,³²⁷ but in the early 20th century Danish allotments were generally very orderly, and Copenhagen's parallel to Berlin should be sought not so much in the formal allotment associations as in the sprawling illegal settlement and habitation of unregistered parcels in individual ownership.³²⁸

Where on the scale from 'modernization' to 'perceived backwardness' small-house culture was located is an open question. To contemporaries, small houses were, on the one hand, an ideological, modern signal of a healthier alternative to tenement housing; while on the other hand they represented a reality rooted in a perceived backward rural way of life without access to the modern facilities of that time. However, given that in the 20th century small-house culture became a major movement that was the housing ideal for an overwhelming proportion of the population, it can retrospectively be seen as modern in the sense of future-oriented.

³²⁶ Urban, F.: 'The Hut on the Garden Plot: Informal Architecture in Twentieth-Century Berlin', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2013, p. ##

³²⁷ A representative example on Amager is described in Ufer, N. *Det skjulte folk – Historien om et fristed*, Gyldendal 1991.

³²⁸ Allotment gardens are characterized by not being independently registered. The allotment garden association owns one or more common properties where the parcels are laid out and numbered. As part of the association, the individual allotment garden owner does not own the deed to the plot on which his house stands. The 'summer houses' are characterized by being individually owned and separately registered. The reason that many 'summer-house' owners did not get deeds to their property was the form of sale where the seller only handed over the deed when the full purchase price had been paid. This could take a long time because the sale of the land was organized for people with limited means who could only manage small ongoing payments.

The summer houses in Hvidovre, Rødovre, Tårnby, Gladsaxe and the outlying areas of the Copenhagen City Council thus represent a history that is situated along the edge of summer-house history, allotment garden history and the history of the ordinary city-dweller's path to home ownership.

In these areas, the boundaries between summer houses, leisure homes and year-round houses would prove to be more fluid than the authorities had imagined possible. The vast parcel landscape that came to spread all around the land side of Copenhagen from the 1880s and up through the inter-war period, is equal in its developmental radicalism to the standard house landscapes of the 1960s farther out in the suburbs.

When it is taken into account that the first villas in Denmark were built in the 1850s, the first regular leisure homes in the 1880s (concurrently with the emergence of the allotment garden associations), and that the first state-supported housing associations came around 1900, it was an expression of an explosive development that in one small rural municipality like Hvidovre there were subdivisions for up to 5,000 'summer-house parcels' between 1911 and 1921.³²⁹

The primary reason why it seems reasonable to regard the 'summer houses' in the same context as the later holiday/leisure homes and allotment gardens is the aforementioned formal conditions for the use of the parcels. But it is also because there was a group among the buyers that actually envisaged using the 'summer houses' as leisure facilities or simply as kitchen gardens. Their interests and attitudes are visible in the sources in only a few cases, as at an annual general meeting of Grundejerforeningen Risbjerggård in Hvidovre in 1921:

*'Johansen (No 364) remarked that many had purchased just to have a garden, not for building.'*³³⁰

There are examples of 'summer houses' in Hvidovre that only stopped functioning as leisure homes in the 1990s – after more than 70 years of use.

The classic upper-middle-class villas, single-family houses of the higher and the broad middle class and small working-class houses came to form a blanket around Copenhagen in those years. Among these types of buildings, only the lower-middle-class and self-created working-class homes have been omitted from the history of

³²⁹ Sverrild, P.: *Lysthusbeboerne*, 1988, p. 20.

³³⁰ *Forhandlingsbog for Parcellforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)* Forstads museet A/41,2, p. 75, Generalforsamling 28.10.1921.

architecture.³³¹ It remains to be examined how far the rural building tradition borne by the first generations of working-class migrants came to influence the design of small houses in the decades up to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Throughout this period, the use of the gardens surrounding the small houses of the working class and the lower middle class point back to the migrants' rural background when the garden came into use as a production resource, a workplace for the women and a contribution to the household economy.³³² Correspondingly, many of the small houses that were built in Hvidovre during the period seem to have been more in the nature of the humble workers' dwellings and smallholders' houses that the residents had left in the countryside than of architecture that had trickled down from the higher classes.

The predominant group of buyers of 'summer-house plots' had a clear expectation of building houses with whole-year status within a few years. The gap between the parcel-buyers' and the authorities' approach to the nature of the parcels is partly detectable in the names given to the associations that were set up around the subdivisions.

In Hvidovre these are names like 'Parcelforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby', 'Grundejerforeningen Strandvang', 'Parcelforeningen Torstensgaardens Grundejerforening' and 'Grundejerforeningen Hvidovregårds Villaby'. The word *villaby* (villa town) is included in many of the names of the homeowners' associations that were formed in the period after 1910, as is the word *parcelforening* ('parcel association').³³³ The latter word became rarer in the 1920s and had completely disappeared in the new associations from the 1930s. When associations used the word 'villa' in names, this was clear communication about expectations of

³³¹ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret?*, Museum Sønderjylland & Dansk Center for Byhistorie, 2008, p. 177. This thorough work on the Danish single-family areas mainly attributes the evolution of house types to cultural seepage and pays little attention to the cultural preferences of the poorer rural migrants who erected their own houses in this period. Jørgensen, L.B. 'Enfamiliehuset', in *Danmarks Arkitektur*, vol 1, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1979, is the volume on the single-family house in the six-volume authoritative work on Danish architectural history. It never even considers the building culture of ordinary citizens after the beginning of industrialization in Denmark.

³³² Holden, L. 'Hvidovre – mulighedernes land', in *Fortid og Nutid*, Dansk Historisk Fællesraad, 1994,4, p. 331-356.

³³³ Forstadmuseet contains archives from approximately 15 homeowners' associations from the period, but we know far more names from other sources such as the weekly newspaper *Parcellisten*, published by associations in the municipality of Hvidovre at the end of the 1920s as a contrast to *Hvidovre Avis*, which the associations regarded as party-political.

future all-season use, while the words ‘parcel’ and ‘plot’ simply refer to the parcelled-out land, not its future utilization.



The tradition for organizing in associations had developed rapidly in all sectors of public life over the second half of the 19th century: labour market, politics, business, sports and home-owners. In the new summer house areas the establishment of an owners association was among the first moves and with the association came the name often signalling the dreams and expectations of the new owners.

Forstadsmuseet A5

THE HOMEOWNERS' ASSOCIATION AS AN AGENT OF URBANIZATION

The contrast in expectations between a large group of parcel-buyers who expected to build all-year houses, and local authorities, who only imagined sporadic summer use, were embedded from the outset.

The homeowners' association was the parcel-buyers' most obvious tool in their efforts to achieve their goals. Prior to the arrival of the first summer house owner, a homeowners' association existed in Hvidovre, 'Hvidovre Grundejerforening',³³⁴

³³⁴ As the minutes of the Hvidovre Homeowners' Association before 1913 are not available, there is no information about the association's year of foundation. But up to 1920, the association proposed candidates for the right-of-centre ticket in connection with elections to the poor relief board, the Municipal Council, and the upper and lower houses of parliament. A municipal constituency association was formed after 1920 to undertake this task. During the lengthy conflict between the majority in the Municipal Council and the newcomers, The Hvidovre Homeowners' Association was very active on the side of the Municipal Council majority. *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Grundejerforening, 1913-1931*, Forstadsmuseet A/3.

which was a pressure group for the property owners of the old homeowners' association. The association included farm owners, market gardeners and homeowners, but as an organization it was clearly not a forum for the new parcel-owners.

The new homeowners' associations had role models in the housing associations that had arisen in the wake of the building support legislation in the late 19th century, and organization in associations was in general the response of the time to collectively experienced challenges. With the constitutional freedom of association and the Danish tradition of an uncomplicated procedure as regards the formation of associations, throughout the second half of the 19th century the association became the general form of organization for men in almost all sectors and in many of life's issues – and its role in this capacity was also slowly increasing for women.

The whole range of religious unions, party organizations, trade unions, shooting and gymnastics associations, trade and craft associations, cooperatives, social and cultural associations, sociable associations, housing associations, sports clubs and homeowners' associations was available at the end of the century when one moved into a new field as a citizen.

Homeowners' associations sprang up in earnest as local interest groups in the years after 1908 when the new municipal electoral law allowed more egalitarian representation in local councils.³³⁵ In some places homeowners' associations had party-political agendas, as was the case, for example, with Hvidovre Grundejerforening, which represented the larger landowners and had a right-of-centre agenda.

In Gentofte, where the single-family house had a more established history than in Hvidovre, associations that served as modern homeowners' associations but also had broader cultural aims had been founded as early as the period between 1888 and 1896. From the mid-1890s, they were partly replaced by specialized homeowners' associations.³³⁶

Therefore, when the subdivisions in Hvidovre began in 1908, people could draw on experience of homeowners' associations elsewhere and, just as importantly, had great familiarity with the association as an organizational form.

³³⁵ *Kort redegørelse for forskellige foreningstypers historie*, LASK (Lokalhistoriske Arkiver i Storkøbenhavn), 1992.

³³⁶ <http://gentofteborgerforening.dk/?Foreningenshistorie>

The most common origin of homeowners' associations in Hvidovre between 1910 and 1930 was an initiative to form an association for a given area that did not come from below – from the parcel-buyers. The associations were often formed prior to the subdivision and sale of land on the owner/ developer's initiative. This rather reversed process compared with the general Danish association tradition, where the association's prospective members most often took the initiative, was related to a combination of current legislation on agriculture, speculative trading culture and the practice for the sale of plots.

The following two examples of association formation in Hvidovre provide a picture of the range of options.

PARCELFORENINGEN RISBJERGGAARDS VILLABY (AT FLASKEKROEN)

The events surrounding the founding of 'Parcelforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby' provide an example of that reverse process.³³⁷ The farm Risbjerggård on around 60 acres of land had been the object of a number of speculative transactions and had been sold to the land development company Kalveboderne Villaby A/S. In this context, it was agreed with the Copenhagen City Council that 5 acres of meadow along Harrestrup Å would be transferred to the metropolitan municipality, and a development plan had been drawn up and 60 plots sold. Then the barrister Aage Madsen bought the majority stake in the limited liability company.

The barrister then took the initiative to convene a meeting to form an association for parcel-owners. At the meeting in his office on June 2nd 1918, a small group of men came 'to negotiate and possibly start and establish an interim parcel association'. It is not clear how the attendees had become involved in the project, and their number does not appear in the minutes of the meeting, but it must have been a limited number when the meeting could be held at the lawyer's office.

Aage Madsen's plan was to sell his shares in Kalveboderne Villaby A / S to a newly-created parcel association, which would thus take over the 220 unsold parcels, the rights of the company in relation to the 60 parcels that were already sold, and a number of additional obligations to a third party. The homeowners' association was to pay a total of DKK 585,000 for these assets and liabilities.

³³⁷ The account of the founding of 'Parcelforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby' is based on *Forhandlingsbog for Parcelforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)* Forstadmuseet A/41,2.



Summer house east of Risbjerggård around 1930. This is one of the few pictures showing the building material. In the early 1920's two factories opened in the Copenhagen South hoabour close to Hvidovre. Here american automobiles were assembled and the pine-crates used for the transport of the automobile parts were sold at fair prices to house-builders in Hvidovre.

The boards were fairly short as the photo shows bur the quality was good. A normal standard for their use as wall-boards was to cover the outside of the walls with roofing felt and then paint them. Later they were often plastered and if the houses then were turned into proper year-round houses they might have bricks added on the outside.

Often the houses did not have proper foundations which then would have to be added later if the house should have official approval for year-round use.

Forstads museet B16848

In connection with the founding meeting, there was no discussion of the possibilities for the future development and utilization of the plots. In principle, there was no reason to do so, since municipal rules and practice in the area were presumably well known. But in section 7 of the first laws of the homeowners' association, which were adopted at the first meeting and subsequently at two general meetings, it was stated with respect to future development that

*'There shall be a restrictive covenant on the plots such that on each parcel only one dwelling may be constructed of a maximum of two storeys with one flat on each floor, that is no more than two flats, as well as the necessary outhouses'.*³³⁸

At the end of the section, the laws noted that the Hvidovre Municipal Council had the right to take legal action against infringement of the rules and – equally seriously – could give authorization to lift the restrictive covenant.

The barrister's motive for the desired association formation may partly have been that the Ministry of Agriculture demanded lists of buyers of the future plots as a condition of exemption from agricultural obligations, thereby enabling subdivision. The municipality involved was to be consulted in the process, but the municipality was not able to stop it if the Ministry of Agriculture was in favour of granting a dispensation for development purposes.³³⁹

Another likely motive was hinted at in connection with the formation process when the lawyer suggested that the future board should consist of the coming parcel-owners who were present. To this end, he suggested that the board undertook:

'to show the plots to interested parties and generally work to acquire members, and in return each will receive a fee of DKK 2,500 from Aage Madsen, 1/5 of which to be paid out each time 1/5 of the plots are sold.'

The barrister made the new association responsible for sales through the creation of the association. This suggests that classic marketing of the plots was not the most appropriate method of sale and probably could not compete with the network culture – often based on industrial workplaces – which in many cases was the basis for buying parcels.

³³⁸ *Risbjerggårds Villaby, Love for Parcellforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)* October 1918. Forstadmuseet A/41-1. The extremely detailed, comprehensive laws would seem to have been formulated at the lawyer's office prior to the constituting meeting.

³³⁹ An example of this type of process and result can be seen in *Udstykningssag mat.nr.13, Hvidovre Sogn*. Kort- og Matrikelstyrelsens Arkiv. The resistance of the Municipal Council was rejected here with reference to an existing list of interested buyers of the coming parcels.

*‘ ... we were three families who moved out here. ’ ‘It was my husband and two of his colleagues. My husband was talking to a colleague who had a plot with a small holiday home that we were allowed to use ... ’.*³⁴⁰

There were also alternative types of sales promotion in Hvidovre during this period. For example, the parcels in a subdivision in the most southerly part of Hvidovre were sold through the tavern owned by the developer in Copenhagen. In a preserved recollection of buying a plot of land in the tavern, the process also involved networks of colleagues, since during the visual inspection of the site the purchaser brought a colleague who bought the neighbouring site.³⁴¹

Aage Madsen’s proposals concerning the financial construction of Grundejerforeningen Risbjerggårds Villaby, in which the newly founded association not only assumed responsibility for selling the many unsold plots, but the board members also had a personal financial interest in getting the parcels sold, for a period led to unbecoming coinciding interests between the seller and buyer representatives on the board of the homeowners’ association.

If the projected financial incentive was not sufficient for the board, the lawyer would pay a further sum of DKK 60 each month for entertainment expenses for up to a year or until the plots had been sold. Each of the two alternates would receive DKK 500 from the lawyer. Finally, it was decided at the founding meeting that the Chairman and bookkeeper of the homeowners’ association should receive an annual fee of DKK 420 and DKK 720 respectively.

At this preliminary stage, Grundejerforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby was a strange hybrid where the board’s interests did not necessarily coincide with those of the members. In 1922, commenting on conditions for the subdivision and the developer, one of the first board chairmen said:

‘The lawyer in question made a profit of more than a quarter of a million on this one development. It has not helped him. He has both ruined himself and squandered the money on a crazy lifestyle and is on the verge of ruin. But, of course, this has not prevented us, about 350 members of

³⁴⁰ Sverrild, P. et al., *Glimt af livet i Hvidovre 1925-40*, 1985, p. 30 and p. 9. The statements from the newcomers who were interviewed in the 1920s are in agreement with the experiences of the building associations from the previous decades, when the composition of the group of owners was often based on belonging to a certain place of work or line of business/trade.

³⁴¹ Thomsen, H.C. *Strandvang – en grundejerforening ved Hvidovre Strand*, 2001, p. 17.

the association, from paying 5% interest and paying it off over 16 years'.³⁴²



The canteen of Risbjerggaards Villaby in the 1920's. Very often the function as canteen man in the associations went to one of the board members since it gave access to goods at whole-sale prices and the shop could be handled by the wife.

Forstads museet B14601

³⁴² *Dansk Udsyn*, 1922, p. 150

GRUNDEJERFORENINGEN HVIDOVREGAARDS VILLABY

A fundamentally different association was created when Grundejerforeningen Hvidovre Langgaards Villaby held its founding meeting in 1913 for about 40 parcel-owners. They had already bought their plots, and the reason for the foundation was the issue of drainage. Drainage was part of the land development that was a precondition for permanent buildings, and the fact that the drainage issue was the only item on the agenda at this meeting bears witness to the most important purpose for the parcel-owners: all-year residence.

The association was created as an alternative to a proposal to join a neighbouring homeowners' association of plots of Gammelgård. This proposal was rejected and their own homeowners' association was created with reference the fact that *'nothing could really be done with regard to the drainage issue etc.'* The creation of a homeowners' association of their own was adopted unanimously by the assembly.³⁴³

A recurring feature of the seller-organized homeowners' associations was that they often, after short or long-term existence, came into conflict with the developers. The conflict was quite often caused by difficulties in connection with the issuance of title deeds that would frequently – according to plan – only take place when the plots were fully paid up. It could also be the case that the developer either did not deliver contracted services, or after some time the terms and conditions of sale proved to be unacceptable to the parcel-owners.³⁴⁴

Homeowners' associations in Hvidovre had the common feature that from their formation until after the Second World War they had their hands full with the basic tasks that came with the plots. The finances of the association, site development with roads and sewer plans, street names and permits for grocers' shops took up a lot of energy in the everyday existence of the associations, as did internal disputes between the members, between neighbouring associations and with the Municipal Council.

³⁴³ *Hvidovregaards Villaby, Forhandlingsprotokol 2.10.1913*, p. 1, Forstadsmuseet 2014/22.

³⁴⁴ In the 1920s and 1930s, the new Hvidovre homeowners' association had to conduct several court cases, one of which went as far as the Supreme Court, against the developers in connection with unacceptable demands for bridge charges. For decades, the bridge in question was known in Hvidovre as 'Guldbroen' (the Golden Bridge). Sverrild, P., *75 års jubilæum, 1918-1993, Grundejerforeningen Ny Hvidovre*

THE ASSOCIATION AS A TOOL

In Hvidovre, a very small number of plots were parcelled out outside the framework of a homeowners' association. As a rule, this had to do with the formal framework of the subdivision and the abolition of agricultural obligations on the plot; but in addition, everyone involved in the parcelling-out projects had an interest in the existence of an association that could speak, decide and act on behalf of all members.

As described, landowners had a stake in the associations' marketing ability in relation to their target groups, and they had an interest in having a partner who could be legally liable. Parcel-owners' interests in the association were similarly obvious. The board of the association undertook the task of resolving internal and external conflicts, and it worked to develop all the areas that could move the new land development towards the desired state of year-round habitation.

There could also be a quite specific reason for forming an association, as was the case with the establishment of 'Hvidovre Langgaards Villaby' in 1913. The minutes state that the association was created against the background of neighbouring subdivision's problems in obtaining their title deeds, and, moreover, that the greater purpose of the association was dealing with the sewer issue.³⁴⁵

There was a wide range of challenges for the newly established homeowners' associations. First, there was the whole land development issue, which mainly had to do with road and settlement matters, but also with the problem of sewerage in the longer term. Beside these existential problem areas there were more general traffic factors related not only to the Municipal Council in Hvidovre, but equally so to the Copenhagen City Council – and, strangely enough, to other homeowners' associations.

With respect to roads, there were problems with the construction of the roads where the municipality was the other party. There was maintenance, which often raised internal problems, and there was traffic flow, an area where many associations experienced problems over rights with one or more neighbouring associations. The young landowner associations' first roads were mostly dirt roads, which were covered with slag after a few years to make them passable when it rained. They were still fragile roads that the individual association paid for and therefore would not allow the neighbouring associations' members to use.

³⁴⁵ 'Hvidovregaards Villaby' *Forhandlingsprotokol* 31/8/1913 – 5/11/1928, p. 1, Forstadsmuseet 2014/22.

This type of problem figured largely in the minutes of most of the slightly older associations, including the two discussed above. For example, the natural route between the summer houses in Risbjerggaards Villaby and the owners' flats in Vesterbro in Copenhagen was through the roads of the homeowners' association 'Strandlyst' in Vigerslev on the other side of Harrestrup Å. This meant that for some years the owners in 'Risbjerggaards Villaby' paid the neighbouring association for the use of its roads for non-motorized traffic.³⁴⁶



Map from the magazine 'Haveboligen' showing the parcelled-out Hvidovre in 1921. At this time it was estimated that there were 2.500 plots and the owners association estimated that about 1.000 houses would immediately be built if the regulations on sewage and roads allowed it.

*Haveboligen 1921,
The Royal Library*

³⁴⁶ *Risbjerggaards Villaby Forhandlingsprotokol 1*, p. 38, 17.5.1920.

In contacts with the Municipal Council, it very quickly became clear that it would be expedient for homeowners in Hvidovre to join forces when land development was to be negotiated. However, it was not easy to arrange a collective organization. The earliest attempts consisted of a number of neighbouring associations, on an ad hoc basis, together conducting concrete negotiations with the Municipal Council. This took place on several occasions in the run-up to the outbreak of the First World War.³⁴⁷ Over the following years, it transpired that negotiations with the Municipal Council did not lead to the goal, despite the fact that several associations had cooperated.

In a broad sense, the homeowners' association could handle what the individual unskilled or skilled parcel-owner would find difficult in relation to the authorities, and the association could also have a regulating function in relation to the other parcel-owners. For example, the association could buy the legal assistance that the individual would not have been able to afford.

From humble beginnings with the formation of Hvidovre's first modern homeowners' association shortly before 1910, in the course of the following decade the homeowners' associations developed into a form of organization that included several thousand parcel-owners – a number that significantly exceeded the number of settled adult citizens in Hvidovre .

THE BIG ASSOCIATION PLAYERS

But there were other new association formations in the housing area that could inspire parcel-owners in the first decades of the 20th century. In the intersection between allotment gardens and permanent residences on smaller plots, from the 1890s, there were a great number of initiatives to provide gardens and possibly building sites for ordinary people. In a mixture of philanthropic and speculative initiatives, supplemented by self-organization, hundreds of parcel associations emerged across the country during the first decades of the movement. The parcel movement contained many motives, goals and methods, from classic allotment garden initiatives and dreams of orchards to building projects. It also involved a time lag during which the emphasis increasingly shifted from the dream of having a garden towards the goal of the all-year house.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ *Hvidovregaardens Villaby Forhandlingsprotokol* 31/8/1913 – 5/11/1928, pp. 8, 22.

³⁴⁸ Dragsbo, P. *Hvem opfandt parcelhuskvarteret*, Museum Sønderjylland 2008, pp. 192 – 216.

The well-known and well-described Danish housing story during this period focuses on the housing associations in particular, which mainly constructed one- and two-family homes following the Building Support Act of 1898. The focus is then the start of the social housing movement, which formally took place with the formation of 'Arbejdernes Andels Boligforening' (AAB, The Workers Cooperative Housing Association) in 1912, quickly followed by other association and company formations, and finally by the simultaneous formation of 'Dansk Haveboligforening' the same year.

Naturally, when 'AAB' was formed, nobody could foresee that the company represented the start of a movement that would end up organizing more than 20% of the Danish housing stock in the course of 90 years.³⁴⁹ But at the time there were probably not many who could have foreseen that the formation of 'Dansk Haveboligforening' (the Danish Garden Home Association) with so many prominent housing and architectural experts behind it would hardly leave more specific traces than the previously-mentioned development 'Grøndalsvænge'.

A few years later, the association called 'Bedre Byggeskik' (Better Building Practices) was formed with the aim of enhancing the architectural standard of small houses.

The later pronounced dichotomy on the Danish housing market between the individually owned dwellings and public housing had obviously not yet appeared. In this phase, more was written about the gap between the building of small houses and 'tenements' (or 'barracks', as they were called).³⁵⁰

The lawyer F.C. Boldsen was such a person. He is remembered today primarily as a long-serving director of Københavns Almennyttige Boligselskab (the Copenhagen Social Housing Association) and secondarily as an advocate of garden homes in Denmark, and for his role as co-founder and Chairman of 'Dansk Haveboligforening' in 1912. The association was created as a result of the influence of a small book in which he introduced Ebenezer Howard's ideas about garden cities to the Danish public, *Haveboliger i Danmark for de mindre bemidlede Samfundsklasser* (Garden Homes in Denmark for the less fortunate classes of society).

³⁴⁹ *Den almene boligsektors fremtid*, Socialministeriet 2006, p. 14.

³⁵⁰ In the joint organ of the Greater Copenhagen parcel associations, *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, it is clear that the struggle was between blocks of flats and building on parcels – not between different forms of ownership or organization.

‘Dansk Haveboligforening’ is remembered for the development ‘Grøndalsvænge’ in the Copenhagen City Council, but was also of significant importance in that it was not the direction Danish housing policy development would take. It has a place in the history of architecture as a quality project in the development of public housing in Denmark.

More indirectly, the board of ‘Dansk Haveboligforening’ was important as the place where a number of the most significant figures in the subsequent period of housing history met. In addition to the initiator F.C. Boldsen, the board included people such as the architects Anton Rosen and Martin Nyrop, the art historian and later Chairman of the Danish Byplanlaboratorium (Town Planning Laboratory) William Lorentzen, and the trade unionist and founder of AAB Jens Chr . Jensen .

F.C. Boldsen’s first commitment to the conditions of the less affluent found expression at the beginning of the century when he was behind the creation of a large number of smallholdings. The relationship between this project and the later parcel movement has been overlooked partly because it was overshadowed by Boldsen’s later success with the social housing association KAB, and partly because the parcel movement, as a movement, turned out to be a parenthesis in history – as opposed to the market-driven development that gradually made Danes to a nation of house-owners.

CENTRALFORENINGEN AF PARCELFÖRENINGER OG VILLAEJERE I KÖBENHAVN OG ÖMEGN

As far as associations were concerned, the parcel-owners could find support in the experience of the allotment garden movement. From their start in the 1880s, the allotment gardens had had an association element in their make-up. In 1908 they had formed a joint organization in Copenhagen, and in 1913 the allotment garden association became a nationwide association that could work for the cause of the leisure-time gardener.³⁵¹

Similarly, and perhaps with equal relevance, in 1910 the booming Danish smallholder movement got its national association ‘De Samvirkende Danske Husmandsforeninger’. This came on top of legislative activity in 1904 and 1909 that had created a better livelihood for the smallholder class.³⁵² Later, the parcel

³⁵¹ *Kraks Tidstavler*, Copenhagen 1953.

³⁵² Petersen, J.H., Petersen, K. and Christensen, N.F., eds. *Dansk velfærdshistorie vol II*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2011, p. 37.



The magazine Haveboligen (the garden home) was established as a tool in the struggle to have the lesser well-off urban house-owners recognized as a group with legitimate need for state subsidies - parallel to the rural group of small-holders who had received so much support over the past two decades. The struggle was lost in the overriding agenda of solving the urban housing shortage by means of planning, social housing companies and block building.

movement regarded the positive relationship of the legislature with the smallholders as its ideal.

The parcel-owners saw themselves as a movement that could be compared to the smallholder movement, and this was clearly expressed, for example, in greetings that the metropolitan area's unifying organization in the parcel area sent to its members in a magazine in 1921.

'A good and happy New Year for the smallholder movement'.³⁵³

The relationship of the parcel-owners to the allotment garden movement was also made clear in the same issue.

'But we must proceed further. Because of its small size and the often all too uncertain and temporary tenure, the allotment garden is only fit to be a station on the road, a passage towards the real goal: the garden home.'

As a result of the conflicts of the years that followed between the Municipal Council and the summer house owners about the utilization of the summer-house plots in Hvidovre, the municipality did not play any role in the establishment of a joint platform for the parcel-owners, although objectively speaking they could have eased the communication between the parties. However, during the conflict, the

³⁵³ *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, no. 9. 1921, p. 4.

Municipal Council was of the opinion that it did not have an interest in communicating with the whole group of parcel-owners.

Correspondingly, the parcel-owners themselves had their hands full with the ongoing tasks of running the newly established homeowners' associations, because the creation of a local joint organization dragged on until into the 1920s.

Considering the very similar problems and common challenges that the parcel associations met with vis-à-vis the municipality, and in the light of the trend of the time for broad association formation, the parcel associations in Hvidovre could have been expected to form a joint association at an early stage.

But an association at the municipal level was only formed after an umbrella organization for parcel associations had been founded at the regional level. In November 1920, '*Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*' (The central association of parcel associations and villa owners in Copenhagen and surroundings) was founded with a very simply formulated objective:

'Building own homes on own plots'.³⁵⁴

The organization, which for a number of years represented more than 10,000 parcel-owners in and around Copenhagen, does not form part of Danish housing history despite the fact that it was consulted by the state, for example, on several general housing issues of the time.³⁵⁵

There are several good reasons why Centralforeningen has not left greater traces. The main reason is probably that during the 1920s Centralforeningen did not meet with success concerning its wishes for state aid for building small houses. During negotiations about a new housing act in 1922, the Chairman was of the opinion that a provision for a partial repayment exemption for loans for the less affluent was about to be introduced.

³⁵⁴ *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, no. 9. 1921, p. 1.

³⁵⁵ Centralforeningen does not seem to have left any archive, but its magazine is available from no. 9 January 1921 to no. 9. 1924.



Statistics of the distribution of members in Centralforeningen, 1922.

The members of Centralforening were distributed along the outer areas of the Copenhagen City Council on both sides of the municipal border.

The absence of members in the Municipality of Gladsaxe is explained by the aggressive urban development strategy chosen by the municipality after 1920.

The immense number of members in the municipality of Copenhagen is interesting in the light of the fact that the Copenhagen parcel-owners did not get as much attention in the media as those with property in Hvidovre, Rødovre and Tårnby. The very high membership in the Municipality of Gentofte is notable in the light of the later unequivocal placing of the municipality at the summit of Copenhagen's social geography and since the Centralforening worked for the least well-off among the parcel-owners.

Table based on figures from the magazine 'Haveboligen' 1922

However, shortly afterwards he was forced to realize that the Liberals were ‘agrarian-egoistic’. Even though the proposal for support mimicked the form of support obtained by the smallholder movement, Centralforeningen had to note that the government would not give workers what the smallholders had achieved.³⁵⁶

Many homeowners’ associations in Hvidovre also organized themselves in the local organization ‘*Sammenslutningen af Parcellforeninger i Hvidovre*’. Both of the umbrella organizations for parcel-owners were to play key roles in the development of the single-family house suburb of Hvidovre up to the 1930s.

When the parcelling-out of small houses also became interesting to large groups of those less well-off than the ones who could be in the housing associations, it was clear that sewerage in the parcels was the greatest economic obstacle for the new settlers. Sewers, along with roads, were the most capital-intensive preconditions for all-year settlement in the new parcels, so in the work to open up the small-house market to the financially weak groups, there was naturally a stronger interest in finding solutions to the handling of the waste disposal issue in another way than with sewerage.

The interest of the period in finding alternative solutions to sewerage in the parcel associations became a lost cause and has basically been forgotten, as has the linkage of the parcelling issue to the smallholder issue and to single-tax Georgism. Among those who in the first half of the 1920s looked for waste disposal solutions outside the engineering world was the eminent Dr. Hindhede. At the time he had just left behind him the administrative high point of his career as leader of the government effort to design food rationing during World War I. Now the goal was to maintain the health of the population – not least its less well-off part – in the most resource-economical way.

‘Bucket closet versus water closet’ could be the heading for Dr. Hindhede’s proposed solution. He was himself a plot-owner in Vanløse and described the practice that prevailed there:

*‘How do we go about it? Well, we empty the closet bucket a couple of times a week by a fruit tree, a gooseberry or a rhubarb bush. No one has anything against that, least of all the bushes. The kitchen water is collected in a bucket and is quite simply poured over the ground in different places. It is gone right away and does nothing but good’.*³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ *Haveboligen – Medlemsblad for Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, no. 7. 1922, p. 1 and no. 8 p. 1.

³⁵⁷ Hindhede, M. *Afløbsforhold ved Haveboliger, Sommerhuse etc. Ugeskrift for Læger* 1923, no. 25. Offprint. The following quotation from Dr. Hindhede come from the same article, pp. 1-8.

After explaining how this practice involved no health risk, but in fact meant excellent manuring of the sites, he turned to the true purpose:

'In recent years thousands of individual homes would probably have been built in gardens – the most ideal form of settlement – if we had not had all the fuss with their sewage requirements. So instead tenements without gardens are built. I cannot but be vexed every time I see such a colossus rising. Modern hygiene apparently thinks only of epidemic diseases. I almost feel like saying: rather die of typhus than live on as human wreckage. To eliminate the wreckage we have to get away from the big cities, out into the countryside. But to this the sewerage is the worst obstacle'.

Here the parcelling-out culture and the individual solution were linked with the countryside, while the city was linked with (forcible) collectivization and tenements. Dr. Hindhede was part of a larger European movement which, starting with observations of the deforming effect of the city on human beings, to varying degrees had connections with other great causes of the day such as temperance, non-smoking, vegetarianism and naturism. That is, social reform through individually chosen cultural behaviour in contrast to the prevailing development of the city's collective, technically controlled solution models.

From visits to Germany he drew examples of how the individual model he sought could be implemented within the framework of larger collectivities where ownership of the land was free of speculation.

In retrospect it is easy to dismiss this period's attempts to find other solution models because they were often associated with alternative life-modes to those that thrived in the growing urban cultures. But there could be other reasons why no serious work was ever done with individual waste disposal solutions in the single-family-home plots than the association with the idea of 'sectarian' lifestyles which less than twenty years later were described and ridiculed in Hans Scherfig's novel *The Idealists*.

Doctors in particular had since the middle of the nineteenth century paved the way for sanitation reforms in the cities, and the engineers had rolled out technical approaches in standardized solutions to the supply of water and light and the removal of sewage. Whether this was also to be the solution in the parcel associations was never seriously discussed, so it was the logic and experiential framework of the city that was imposed on the suburb in this context.



The growing housing shortage in Copenhagen from the outset of WWI was not felt in rural Hvidovre. Here the biggest housing challenge during the first years of the war was finding quarters for the soldiers who were mobilized to man the defenses of Copenhagen in case of a German attack. The farmer in the middle of the foremost row was one of Hvidovres two negotiators in the school case in connection with the division of the municipality in 1901. Torstensgården 1914.

Forstads museet B15210

WAR AND HOUSING SHORTAGE³⁵⁸

At the end of the 19th century, the Copenhagen suburbs could be identified and classed by their physical appearance in many ways. There were expanding areas north of the city with plots for villas, and west and south of Copenhagen plots were beginning to appear for housing associations for the wider population as well as the beginning of subdivisions for holiday homes that were often established with the

³⁵⁸ The following section is based on Vedel-Petersen, K. *Københavns Kommune i Aarene 1914-1921*, Copenhagen, Engelsen & Schröder, 1931. The book is a thorough study of the Copenhagen City Council's wide range of initiatives to counteract the negative effects of the First World War. The work is basically a study of the implementation and impact of many of the instruments used by the later welfare state, not least in relation to the housing area.

dream of a future all-year house. This socially zoned suburban development was accompanied by an emerging division of the urban functions in the form of defined areas for industry, commerce and residence.³⁵⁹

There were a large number of unoccupied dwellings in Copenhagen around 1908, but after a subsequent minor financial crisis, the surplus shrank to approximately 1,500 in 1913. A future demand for about 3,000 dwellings a year was estimated at the time, but in the years following 1909 nothing like that number of dwellings had been constructed.

In the meantime, the population of Copenhagen continued to grow. Over the previous 50 years, urban growth had been handled under conditions that were criticized both by contemporaries and later for poor quality in many of the new dwellings in the *-bro* areas [cf footnote 101] of the city. However, this was also the period when housing conditions had finally reached the political agenda and when the first national legislation for support for housing construction had been passed.

At all events, housing construction had been capable of providing housing for the urban population to an extent that averted the establishment of substantial unregulated and irregular housing areas on the outskirts of the city.

The growing population in Copenhagen was a result on the one hand of births exceeding deaths, and on the other hand of the continued drift away from agriculture. The population of Copenhagen increased from 489,400 to 519,100 between 1914 and 1918. After the lean years following 1909, a serious problem arose when building activity came to a complete standstill at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

The small housing surplus disappeared very quickly, and as the costs of building new housing rose dramatically as a result of the steadily increasing shortages during the war, it took a very long time to stimulate the building sector to start reaching a level of activity that could begin to match the demand for housing. In April 1916, the Copenhagen City Council had to start coping with the increasing number of poor house-hunters, and began to place them in hospitals and other similar public buildings.

Half a year later – in autumn 1916 – the Copenhagen City Council for the first time had to provide for families who could afford to pay a average rent but who could not find accommodation. No fewer than 157 out of 234 families who lacked accommodation could pay, but the municipality had to house them in school

³⁵⁹ T. KNUDSEN, *Storbyen støbes*, Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1988, p. 190.

buildings. By six months later – in spring 1917 – the number had risen to 282 homeless families, 214 of whom could afford to pay rent. The following year, in April 1918, the respective figures were 331 families who could pay out of a total of 431.

When the phenomenon of homeless families first appeared in the Copenhagen City Council in the autumn of 1916, it was attributed to many families having to leave their allotment gardens because of the approach of winter.

The housing shortage that had arisen provoked a number of political initiatives at city council level and in the parliament. Among the initiatives were the first Copenhagen municipal housing projects, cheap housing loans, a temporary tax-free status for new buildings, and rewards for placing flats at the disposal of new tenants.

The housing shortage in Copenhagen continued to increase after the end of the war and was further prolonged by yet another financial crisis in the 1920s. Finally, the depression following 1929 delayed a solution to the housing shortage.

It is thought-provoking that the extremely detailed, thorough work from 1931 on housing conditions in Copenhagen made no mention whatever of the irregular and illegal habitation in allotment gardens and summer houses on the fringes of the municipality. Although this phenomenon was of relatively less importance in the Copenhagen City Council than in the surrounding municipalities, it existed and helped to ensure that the general pressure on the housing sector was not yet greater.

THE SUMMER-HOUSE PEOPLE AND THEIR HOUSES

In the rural municipality of Hvidovre, where there was a population of 767 in 1916³⁶⁰, only a few people lived in rented accommodation, and this meant that the housing situation was basically different from that of Copenhagen. There was quite simply not enough volume in the regular housing stock or a basis of local industrial enterprise to develop a housing structure that would cause urban housing problems. But outside the regular housing stock, the summer houses, like Copenhagen's allotment gardens and summer houses, presented an obvious opportunity for desperate house hunters in the big city. During the First World War and the years that followed, the summer houses in the Copenhagen City Council and the

³⁶⁰ *Folkemængden 1. Februar 1916*, Danmarks Statistik 1916, p. 153.



Summer house in the southern part of Hvidovre 1921. Like most of the photos from the summer houses it illustrates the lives of a family with sufficient means and a dwelling in Copenhagen. The poorer section probably had less access to photographing and were occupied with more serious businesses.

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surrounding municipalities were to develop into the largest irregular and informal settlements³⁶¹ in Danish history.

The summer houses in Hvidovre were individually owned properties that were not included in the municipality's housing stock even though the owners had purchased them in expectation of the possibility of living legally there all year round in the shorter or longer term. The owners of the summer houses usually had all-year

³⁶¹ According to the UN, informal settlements can be divided into two groups, one of which covers conditions around Copenhagen during the period.

Glossary of Environment Statistics, Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 67, United Nations, New York, 1997:

Informal settlements are:

1. areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally;
2. unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing).

houses in Copenhagen or Frederiksberg and had no need to solve a housing problem by residing illegally in Hvidovre apart from the illegal residence they already practised by spending the summer months in houses that were only approved for use during the day.

As a rule, the summer-house owners in Hvidovre were not part of the housing problem, but they were not a stable group, as there were quite a few transactions with houses in the course of the whole period and, in addition, new summer houses continued to be built. But for the homeless, who appeared in Copenhagen from around 1916 and could afford to pay standard rents, the houses would prove to be attractive as a temporary solution to the housing shortage.

The social profile of first-time buyers of parcels in Hvidovre is quite clear. The membership lists of the oldest homeowners' associations have unfortunately not been preserved, but the minutes of one of the early associations in the period from 1913 to 1918 document the occupations of 24 of its approximately 60 members.³⁶² Most of them were board members or alternates.

The occupational spread supports the conjecture that some of the sales took place through the spread of information at places of work, because nine of the 24 were postmen. The biggest group of nine consisted of artisans, almost all of whom were masters; four were shopkeepers and there were also one fitter, one bookkeeper, one musician and one composer. Only one was a labourer.

There were 105 buyers of the 121 parcels in the later subdivision of Stenshavegård, where the plots were sold in 1919. The buyers consisted of 37% labourers, 33% artisans, 11% lower middle-class and 5% shop-owners.³⁶³ Among the 43 parcel-owners in Risbjerggårds Villaby whose occupations can be identified for the period between 1919 and 1922, there were significantly fewer artisans, a corresponding share of labourers, many more retailers, but first and foremost, there were far more from a middle class that ranged from hauliers to an editor and a factory owner.³⁶⁴

³⁶² *Hvidovregaards Villaby, Forhandlingsprotokol 2.10.1913*, Forstadsmuseet 2014/22, pp. 1-50.

³⁶³ *Stenshavegaards Villaby, Minutebook, Members' Payments*, 1919, Forstadsmuseet A17,12.

³⁶⁴ *Forhandlingsbog for Parcellforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)*, Forstadsmuseet A/41,2, pp. 5-95.

In 1916, an official valuation was carried out and 44 summer-house owners were listed with occupations. Of these 11 were labourers and 19 were artisans.³⁶⁵

Together with scattered information from other sources, a picture emerges where the owners were a very mixed group, and while labourers and artisans were in the majority, salaried employees, master artisans and shop-owners filled the boards.

It is characteristic that 10% of those in the above-mentioned development purchased more than one parcel and were among the group of salaried employees and shop owners. The most likely purpose of buying more than one parcel was to exploit the expected price increase when selling in order to finance future building. A picture emerges from the scattered pieces of information about the sale of parcels, where the working class was less prominent in the early years and the middle class acted as minor land speculators and were active as board members in the homeowners' associations that were trying to drive the development. It was not unusual for buyers to purchase more than one parcel; there were instances of this in many of the subdivisions during the period.

The relatively few individual descriptions of the purchasing process and conditions in the young subdivisions can help to provide an impression of the pioneering experiences and the difficulties some people could experience with the different way of life that came with acquiring a summer-house plot.

'I agreed with Sørensen (the developer) to inspect the plot the same evening, and I went to look at the site together with my wife and a colleague, Police Constable Brejning. We bought a plot beside one another, each of them measuring 2100 Alen. Deposit DKK 50 and the remainder to be paid in 20 instalments. We ploughed the plot in the autumn; there were at most 3-4 inches of topsoil and the clay came up with it. After spring ploughing and removal of the couch grass, 10 fruit trees and some bushes were planted and a summer house of 8X5 Alen was built. There was a restrictive villa covenant on the property and an obligation to become a member of a homeowners' association. The homeowners' association 'Strandvang' was founded on 4th December

³⁶⁵ Sverrild, P. *Lysthusbeboerne – en forstad fødes*, Lokalhistorisk Arkiv, Hvidovre, 1988, p. 20. The very small number of summer houses in the official valuation has to do with the fact that the buyers did not get their deeds until they had paid the full sum for the lot – which might take a long time.

*1916 and I was elected to the board and remained there for nine years. All the plots (title number) 21B were sold in the course of three weeks.*³⁶⁶

As early as three years after it had been set up, the board Chairman of Risbjerggårds Villaby wrote about circumstances in his association, in a tone and with a choice of topic that revealed both the difficulties and the optimism of the new parcel-owners.

*‘At the same time all the parcellists have worked on their plots. Several succumb; a native of Copenhagen who may never have held a spade can handle the tool so awkwardly that he has double the work so he gets tired. Often he does not finish the work in such a way as he can get something out of it because he is ignorant of anything to do with cultivating the land. This is why many of the plots change owners during the first couple of years... The first thing a parcellist thinks of when he has got possession of the plot is the summer house. He starts building it before he has stuck a spade in the soil. Most of it is home handiwork, and in the first instance the landscape is disfigured by all these more or less primitive houses that correspond to the owner’s abilities. But most of them manage to build so much of a house that they can move completely out of their flats in the city for 2, 3 or 4 months of the summer and have a dwelling in the country. One doesn’t need all that much house during the summer when one has room around it’.*³⁶⁷

A person from the same homeowners’ association, who spent his very poor and neglected childhood here, described the miserable conditions he experienced in the 1920s.

‘It couldn’t be called a house yet – a half-finished building that looked as if it had been cut in half. There was only one room and the floor had not yet been laid. We sat, stood and lay on the bare earth during the first time. But it was summer so we didn’t freeze ... There was no rubbish collection then. We dug a big hole in the garden and threw all the rubbish into it, including the toilet bucket ... The neighbourhood we lived in was called Risbjerggårds Villaudstykning. That is if the many houses that were built of boards could be called villas. The best, but also the dearest, were built of ‘Ford boards’. These were good, solid planks from the big boxes that Ford sent their cars to Denmark in. The cheapest were simply built of herring boxes ... There was no running water in the house but two public wells, one at each end of the road. A big wooden barrel was

³⁶⁶ Grundejerforeningen Strandvang, bestyrelsesmedlem Høg-Andersens erindring fra 1947, Forstadsmuseet A5/5.

³⁶⁷ Tybjerg, J., *Hjem og Jord*, in *Haveboligen* no. 3, 1922, p. 4.



One of the tiny summer houses where toolshed and privy often took up as much space as the house proper. Muslingevej in Hvidovre. Oil by Johannes Hansen from the end of the 1920's. He was one of the painters who stayed in Hvidovre a few summers around 1920 as one of a group of artists.

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placed under the spout. The water there was always stagnant and full of mosquito larvae'.³⁶⁸

As a rule, the first houses built by the settlers were very small, and how small they could be appears from a reminiscence from 1920, related in 1985.

'Our house was so small that we could only just about be there when we went to bed in the evening. When our father had collected all the earwigs crawling on the walls, Mum could make the beds on the floor. She made Dad's bed first, so that he lay innermost, and then she made the beds for us four (children) in turn. When Mum went to bed as the last, she made her own bed through the door opening and then had to step inside the door and on to the last mattress to get to bed. The house was so small that we could only lie in a row. We had five chickens over in the corner,

³⁶⁸ Haaeman, I. *Den forrådte ungdom*, 1990, p. 15-39.

*and there was a hole in the wall for them to come in and out of as they wanted.*³⁶⁹

In many ways, the housing quality in these summer houses was not just worse than the worst flats in Copenhagen, but also worse than in the majority of dwellings in the countryside. A great number of them were intended as temporary summer houses that merely had to function while the desired all-year house was being built beside them. However, it was more usual that the first little house was gradually extended and by building on more bits and pieces the owners could fulfil all their needs. There are descriptions of both strategies among the reminiscences. The first describes moving into Hvidovre in 1922.

*'It was a small summer house, but it had one good room and a kitchen ... We built our (all-year) house bit by bit. We bought used bricks; we could get them for half of what new ones cost. We cleaned them. I was housewife, so I came to clean many bricks, and when my husband came home from work, he continued to clean the bricks. When they had been cleaned, they were stacked until we could start building. We cast the foundation the one year, and we continued to buy used bricks. When we had a good portion, we started to build. It was all young people who moved out to the summer houses here. We all helped each other then. My husband was a plumber so he did some work for our neighbours.'*³⁷⁰

The extension strategy is described in an account of arrival in Hvidovre in 1921.

'We began with potatoes to start with, and then we had to have something to live in, so my Dad bought a single room with a roof over it. It came in units so you could assemble it yourself. We probably got them from some timber yard or other where it had been prefabricated ... My father gradually constructed a very fine house. He built a bit every year. The first was a kitchen, and then he built a bedroom with bunk beds.'

Contemporaries often called the summer houses 'packing-case houses', a name that directly referred to the building material.

'... and many people's houses were built out of Chevrolet and Ford crates. That means that when the cars came from America, people bought the crates the cars had been in from Ford and Chevrolet and had them transported out to the plots where they were taken apart. The skeleton of

³⁶⁹ Sverrild, P. et al. *Glimt af livet i Hvidovre 1925-40*, vol 1, 1985, p. 28-29. Interview with Jane Siiger, born in 1916.

³⁷⁰ Sverrild, P. et al. *Glimt af livet i Hvidovre 1925-40*, vol 1, 1985, p. 11-12. Interview with Ella Frederiksen, born in 1900.

the house was made of some boards and the house was then covered with the boards from the Ford crates. We covered them with roofing felt, which we then painted white, green or red, according to how we wanted the house to look'.³⁷¹



The members of the municipal council 1913-17 together with the secretary who was also headmaster at the school. Since 1909 the council had had a regular meeting room and an office in one of the apartments in the first multistory block in Hvidovre. This was the last council without serious conflicts.

Forstadsmuseet B 14629

THE SUMMER-HOUSE DWELLERS APPEAR

The Copenhagen housing shortage, which increased rapidly after the outbreak of the First World War, led to many temporary solutions being organized. By degrees, the Copenhagen City Council came to use schools, prisons, fire stations, and nursing homes for accommodation. Homeless people who could not get the

³⁷¹ Sverrild, P. et al., *Glimt af livet i Hvidovre 1925-40*, vol 1, 1985, pp. 14-15. Interview with John Q. Petersen, born in 1925.

The phenomenon of unusual building material was naturally not limited to the subdivisions in Hvidovre, but could be seen in the whole of the periphery of Copenhagen, both inside and outside the municipal boundary of the capital. It was not just an emergency phenomenon; it could also represent a formulated building strategy. There could be special pride in solving one's own housing challenges in an expedient, economical way. It was very common at the time to express one-self on verse in papers and periodicals as this poem printed in the building movements own periodical.

*I take a couple of beams
And raise them up so easily
I buy a load of boards
From Bülow's Chevrolet
+ 4 packs of nails
The best: Try them and judge!
And out of the ground
Quickly rises my dream*

*Let Petersen just build
The best red brick house
for 25,000
with tower, bay window and shower.
I'm building my castle myself,
And it's warm and good,
- my house, it's my own;
Paid, what I have got!*

*While Petersen has to hew and saw
For many years
With loans and the like, my lot
Keeps getting better.
Because I've built my own house,
Paid for wood and gravel;
I'm my own master
- and not a 'Louse'!*

*Let the whole world only
Smile at my little Wigwam,
- while time swiftly passes,,
It can also change character.
When the time has come,
I will also build
A house that will stand for ever
And defy the world's smile.*

Nybygger-Vise, in Haveboligen, 1923

municipality to provide such wretched options also worked with a range of strategies from renting rooms, living in basements and attics to staying in summer houses and allotment gardens.

The illegal habitation of the summer houses in Copenhagen's neighbouring municipalities was first noted by members of Hvidovre Municipal Council during the winter of 1917/18, but before that, such illegal settlements had been discussed during a debate in the City Council in Copenhagen in September 1917.

During the debate, it was found that a number of families had occupied their summer houses illegally and probably would be forced to stay in them for yet

another winter. That same year, the government's Housing Commission of 1916 issued its third report, which stated that

*'moreover, there are quite a few families who, although it is illegal, have had to stay in their allotment garden houses both last winter and now in the summer – and they will probably also stay for the winter'.*³⁷²

In the relatively new developments in Hvidovre, the illegal residents were easy to spot as winter approached and they had to light the paraffin lamps in the evening in the small houses. The observations of light prompted the Municipal Council to contact Copenhagen County, which was the higher authority for the Municipal Council. In spring 1918, the Municipal Council described the conditions in a letter.

*'Since it has come to the attention of the Municipal Council that some families have given up their residence in different municipalities, in particular Copenhagen, and taken up permanent residence in summer or garden houses erected in the allotments located in this municipality, we permit ourselves to ask the honourable body how the Municipal Council is to relate to these residents as it is to be feared that in the autumn they will have to enrol as homeless since the houses they live in do not lend themselves to permanent residence.'*³⁷³

There is no evidence that illegal habitation of allotment garden had previously been a common phenomenon in Danish allotment garden associations, where behavioural control was generally strong. On the other hand, there had not previously been such a shortage of housing in the lifetime of the allotment garden movements. However, in its third report from 1917 the Housing Commission of 1916 had noted that

*'there were not a few who are thought to have lived in allotment gardens during the summer'.*³⁷⁴

Comparing this to conditions in other countries, it was also only in the period just after the First World War that illegal habitation started to become a significant phenomenon in Berlin's numerous allotment gardens, which numbered more than 40,000 around 1900.³⁷⁵

³⁷² *Københavns Borgerrepræsentations forhandling*, 1917-1918, p. 737, 6th September 1917 in *Boligkommissionen af 1916, Betaenkning III* (Report 3 from the Housing Commission of 1916), p. 8.

³⁷³ Letter from Hvidovre Municipal Council to Copenhagen County, 15.5.1918. Hvidovre Kommunearkiv.

³⁷⁴ *Betaenkning III fra Boligkommissionen af 1916*, p. 8.

³⁷⁵ Urban, F.: 'The Hut on the Garden Plot: Informal Architecture in Twentieth-Century Berlin', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2013, p. 227.



The municipal council functioning between 1917 and 1921 had to handle the first phases of the illegal habitation. Whether the lack of an official group photo has to do with the conflicts arising within the council in this period is uncertain, but the photo is a later compilation of portraits. It was in this period the majority of the council decided to handle the illegal dwellings as criminal offenses. In the next period (1921-25) after the council was not allowed to prosecute the dwellers they took the radical stand that the dwellers were not present in Hvidovre at all.

Forstads Museet B14702

With its inquiry to the county authority, Hvidovre Municipal Council chose not to focus on the summer-house residents' obvious breach of the local road, building and sanitary regulations, but on the hypothetical threat of having to deal with a large group of homeless people in the municipality at a later date. The letter gives a good impression of the Municipal Council's rationale. By pointing out that the families had left homes in other municipalities, the council was preparing its position if it were to happen that the summer-house residents actually registered as homeless in

Hvidovre. The illegal residents belonged in other municipalities and were the responsibility of other municipalities!

In many ways, the Chairman of Hvidovre Municipal Council, the market gardener Carl Larsen, personified the special Hvidovre nature of the conflict. Carl Larsen was a native of Hvidovre and had his relatively small market garden on 1.5 hectares of old smallholder land in the middle of the village. Socially, he had moved from the smallholder class in the bottom half of the rural community to becoming the owner of a market garden who could have hired staff even with such a small acreage. At the same time, as a small property-owner he did not share the big landowners' financial interest in future land development and sale.

He had been member of the Municipal Council from 1913 to 1917 and was chairman between 1921 and 1925 and was elected for another period as member from 1929 to 1933. In the period between 1911 and 1917 he was a member of the board of the local relief fund. So in all he had a well-founded knowledge of the economic and social situation in Hvidovre. He was a member of the social liberal party but came to play a role that was far more liberal than social. He represented the local middle class and better off, he acted more with the limited visibility and natural conservatism of the native son than with the middle-class politician's idea of an alternative direction in the ongoing periurban development.

It was the provisions of the Poor Law of 1891 that required municipalities to provide housing for homeless individuals who were resident in the municipality and could pay a locally normal rent. Therefore, the crucial element for the Municipal Council was the conditions for municipal affiliation and municipal obligations vis-à-vis the residents.

The Municipal Council's use of the term 'allotment garden' in the letter is surprising since there were no allotment garden associations in the municipality. It seems most likely that the Municipal Council was not aware of the differences between the parcel subdivisions in the municipality and the actual allotment garden associations where there was no individual ownership or land registration. If these had in fact been allotment gardens, it would have been obvious for the Municipal Council to communicate with the boards of the associations, which had quite different regulatory tasks in the allotment garden associations from those of the boards of parcel associations.

It could not have come as a complete surprise to the Municipal Council in Hvidovre that problems could arise in the context of fulfilling the municipal statutes in the summer-house subdivisions, for as early as 1912 it transpired from a building case

about one of the early summer houses that the municipal authorities were aware of the potential threat.



Primitive and unprofessional in construction as many of the summer houses were, many survived way longer than might have been imagined. This is one of the last to be demolished around 2006.

Forstads museet B14013

In response to an application for planning permission for a very small house and a shed, the engineer who handled the proceedings regarding the matter did not merely refer to the existing building regulations, as might have been expected. In addition to the standard reference to the building regulations, he highlighted three more points in handwriting:

*‘The house may not be used for overnight stays or have a toilet. A chimney or a fireplace are not allowed. To avoid damage from rainwater, the roof may not slope towards the neighbours’.*³⁷⁶

These additional restrictions on the right to build had been decided at a meeting of the Municipal Council in 1908 immediately before it entered into an agreement

³⁷⁶ Byggesag. Mat.no. 16as Hvidovre By og Sogn www.weblager.dk (Hvidovre).

with the aforementioned engineer to become the municipality's building caseworker on a consultancy basis. The Municipal Council had taken this step when it was faced with the first mass developments of summer-house plots. Before that, the Municipal Council itself had dealt with the relatively few building projects, which mainly concerned agricultural or horticultural buildings. It should be noted that the municipality's administration in this period was limited to the local teacher serving as secretary at Municipal Council meetings.

Correspondingly, the road ordinance served the purpose of limiting the use of the subdivided parcels. Only parcels bordering on roads that were approved by the Municipal Council as actual roads could obtain permission for year-round use.

The current objective of the municipal statutes, which strictly speaking were intended to ensure appropriate access, housing, and health conditions in the municipality, now changed more to securing control of potential newcomers. The fact that the municipality received a new kind of 'guest' because of the growing number of summer houses was not a problem, as long as they actually remained guests. However, if they should happen to become residents of Hvidovre, it seemed clear what would happen. There would be pressure on the municipality's economy. The lesson was clear from the establishment of the older suburbs of the parts of the municipality that had been ceded in 1857 and 1901.

Inward migration of new citizens of the working class would basically mean that it was necessary to invest again in the school system, for which a new school had been built in 1902, and it would also result in increasing expenditure in the area of support. However, the potential new citizens' political and cultural ties must have seemed an equally serious threat to the Conservative majority in Hvidovre Municipal Council.

A few months later, in July 1918, the Municipal Council in Hvidovre decided not to take any further action in the matter.³⁷⁷ There is no information about the reason for the decision, but this suggests the notion that the problem might disappear if it were ignored, and as long as the illegal residents did not request services from the municipality, they could be considered non-existent.

Meanwhile, there was a growing incidence of illegal settlement in the entire Copenhagen area and it began to attract interest at other than the local level. In the spring of 1920, the Board of Health invited all the municipal councils around Copenhagen affected by illegal habitation to a meeting to discuss the health aspects

³⁷⁷ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneraad*, 4.7.1918. Hvidovre Municipal Archives.

of the illegal residence. All the municipal councils involved accepted the invitation, and over the following eighteen months, in consultation with the municipalities concerned, the Board worked on a proposal for relaxations in the building and health statutes in order to normalize the situation for the illegal residents.

At the same time, in late 1920, the National Housing Commission of 1918 published its second report. This was the first time the situation had been described by a central body:

*‘In recent years, houses have been built for residential purposes on many of these parcels (around Copenhagen). First it was wooden houses for summer homes, initially only designed for short stays, e.g. from Saturday to Monday, but later often extended to country living throughout the whole summer. In the past year more have appeared for whole-year use, often built by the owner himself, largely in his leisure time, with or without expert help, but with the help of friends... The reason those who are building houses are so reluctant to seek expert guidance is probably first and foremost that usually this building work is not legal’.*³⁷⁸

There had been illegal habitation of summer houses for almost three years before anything was published about the phenomenon. In consideration of how much effort the City of Copenhagen and the National Housing Commissions had expended on examining housing conditions during and after the First World War, better documentation might have been expected of this group who had found alternative housing forms that did not put a strain on the housing market as such or the municipal emergency measures.

Since it is part of the nature of illegality to avoid the public eye, complaints and other requests from the illegal residents with regard to their housing conditions were understandably absent. However, the lack of interest on the part of the authorities is more surprising considering society’s need for the maintenance of law and order. On the other hand, this would have required action by the authorities if and when knowledge of the illegal activities were to be made public. And that would primarily mean facing demands for resettlement in a situation where no housing was available.

The discreet way of dealing with illegal residence in summer houses and allotment gardens practised by the Copenhagen City Council in this period would later

³⁷⁸ *Boligkommissionen af 1918, Betænkning II*, 1920, pp. 118-19.

become the Council's unstated policy and practice with regard to large number of allotment garden associations throughout most of the twentieth century.³⁷⁹



Summer house used for illegal habitation. Dansvej 2, Hvidovre, 1922.

Forstads museet B17093

WHO LIVED IN THE SUMMER HOUSES IN HVIDOVRE?

But who was it who tried to solve their housing problems by illegally residing permanently in the summer houses in the subdivisions in Hvidovre? As a result of the above-mentioned factors surrounding the nature of illegality, the identity of these residents was not investigated before habitation arrived at the stage where it was acknowledged by the public and therefore required investigation.

Given that the number of illegal residents grew and that they found it increasingly difficult to avoid being noticed, the first cases appeared when occupants without legal residence in the municipality demanded services from the same municipality.

³⁷⁹ An example of long-term relations between the Copenhagen City Council and an allotment garden association with widespread illegal habitation is described in Ufer, N. *Det skjulte folk – Historien om et fristed*, Gyldendal, 1991.

In 1922, the Chairman of Risbjerggårds Villaby noted that in his homeowners' association alone there were at least 30 families who had lived in their summer houses throughout the previous winter.³⁸⁰

It is not possible to obtain a full list of the composition of the illegal residents on the basis of the individual cases in the form of applications for support and the many requests to enrol children in school. However, in 1923 and 1924 two lists were drawn up where illegal residents were registered. The lists were created as part of a political/administrative process to manage the problems of illegal residence.

The most comprehensive of the two lists was compiled in the summer of 1923 on the initiative of a ministerial committee to investigate illegal settlement in the two municipalities of Hvidovre and Rødovre. The list of illegal residents in Hvidovre is the only one to have survived, but there is good reason to believe that it is representative of the illegal settlement west of Copenhagen, since the histories of land development in the two municipalities have many common features in chronology and typology.

The list from Hvidovre included 638 illegal residents. To comprehend the relative scale of the problem, the figure should be compared with the 962 persons that the 1921 census registered as citizens of the municipality.

It is not possible to examine how complete the count of the illegal residents was, but in view of the illegality of their presence, it can be assumed that the list records an absolute minimum.

The social profile of the illegal residents was clear.³⁸¹ Of the 185 people who were listed by occupation, more than 85% were labourers and artisans. Only a minority of well over a thousand summer houses were illegally occupied, so the list does not tell us whether the group of middle-class summer-house owners who had been present before the First World War was shrinking, or whether they simply used their houses in accordance with the statutes.

On the other hand, the illegal residents did not belong to the economically weakest groups of the urban population, because the list documented that only two of the registered families lived in rented summer houses – the others owned their own illegal homes. So not only did they have the financial resources to purchase real

³⁸⁰ Tybjerg, J. in *Dansk Udsyn*, Askov Højskole 1922, p. 5.

³⁸¹ The descriptions of the illegal workers are based on the list in *Indenrigsministeriet, K.K. J.nr 259 31/22*, Danish National Archives.

estate, they also had the energy to address their own housing problems. Finally, they had the courage to defy the municipal regulations at a time when the consequences of breaking rules in relation to the public authorities could be very serious in terms of loss of access to democratic rights and financial benefits.

The problem of the illegal settlements accelerated over time. This became apparent when an attempt was made to clarify when the illegals who lived in Hvidovre in 1923 had begun their illegal stay in the municipality:³⁸²

Year of arrival:					
before 1919	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923 (first 6 months)
0	0	19	85	146	163

The rate of increase was undeniably extremely rapid, and considering that it was a conservative estimate, it must have alarmed the Municipal Council. The number of illegally occupied households corresponded to 45% of the total number of households in the municipality in the summer of 1923.

It is surprising that none of the 413 persons stated they had arrived earlier than 1920. However, this may be because of the incompleteness of the census, because the illegal residents were an unstable group, or because the respondents had reasons to understate the duration of their stay, for example for tax reasons.

THE AUTHORITIES AND THE SUMMER-HOUSE DWELLERS

Hvidovre Municipal Council was aware that problems associated with the summer houses' illegal use was not just a local phenomenon and that other municipalities were working with the matter. Therefore, in the spring of 1918 the Municipal Council appointed a committee to investigate the corresponding situation in Gladsaxe and Søborg.³⁸³

In the summer of 1918, Hvidovre Municipal Council decided that the illegal residents should be regarded as non-existent with respect to the rights that followed with 'permanent residence' in the municipality. This was an attitude that was not pressure-tested before the spring of 1921. Consequently, for three years Hvidovre Municipality was formally unaffected by the housing shortage in Copenhagen. In the local reality, an increasing flow of illegal residents moved into the summer

³⁸² Report from *Udvalg til Overvejelse af Spørgsmålet om københavnske Udflytteres Stilling i offentligretlig Henseende særlig i Hvidovre og Rødovre Kommuner*, 1923, p. 23.

³⁸³ *Hvidovregaards Villaby*, *Forhandlingsprotokol* 2.10.1913, Forstadsmuseet 2014/22, p. 42.

houses in the municipality, the number of which continued to grow in the same period to reach no fewer than 1,286 in 1925.³⁸⁴

When the new school year started in April 1921, the first illegal summer-house occupant turned up to have his child enrolled in Hvidovre School. This led to a case that was to set a precedent for a large number of subsequent cases where summer-house residents wanted their children enrolled³⁸⁵.

The general registration procedure was to take the child to the school and present it to the head teacher, who would then take care of further enrolment, but the fact that the dwelling was illegal changed everything. The family in this case had moved from the Danish provinces and not from Copenhagen like the majority of the illegal residents. When the family was turned down at Hvidovre School, the father contacted the nearest school in Copenhagen, Vigerslev Alle Skole, 3.5 kilometres east of Hvidovre School.

Here he was told that, in principle, the matter did not concern Copenhagen City Council, and he was urged to make a new approach to Hvidovre. In a subsequent letter to the head teacher in Hvidovre, the father pointed out that the family had taken up permanent residence in Hvidovre and therefore must have the right to use Hvidovre Skole, and he pointed out that the Copenhagen City Council would not deal with the matter.

The answer from Hvidovre school was that as their illegal residence could lead to them being evicted from their house, they should look for help in Copenhagen. The head teacher added that he was giving this answer on behalf of the Municipal Council.

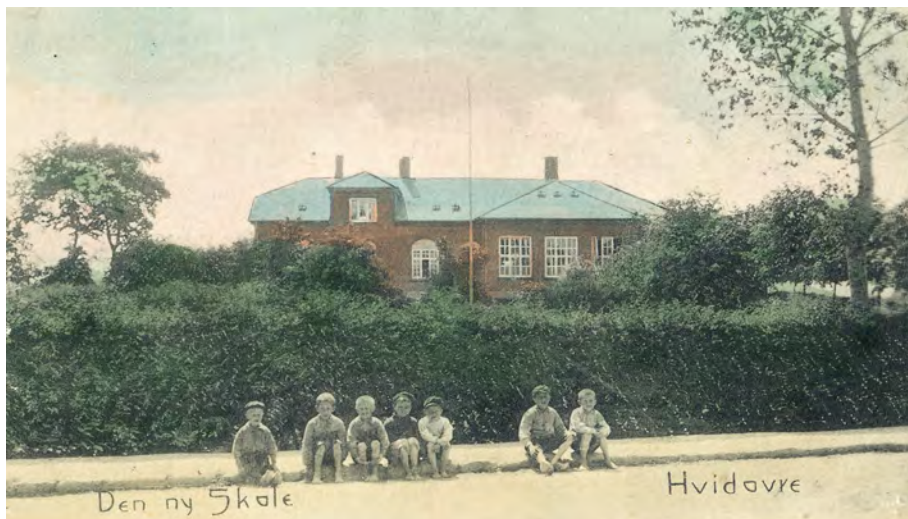
The positions of the two municipalities were substantiated by the different interpretations of the term 'permanent residence' and referred back to the policy and practice of the Municipal Council and the City Council, respectively. Hvidovre and Copenhagen were not just urban periphery and centre by virtue of geography and political/economic weight; they were also so in terms of visibility and responsibility.

The head teacher at Vigerslev Alle School acted on the basis of a housing shortage in Copenhagen that had just closed a number of schools in the city, which were now

³⁸⁴ *Hvidovre Attestbog*, 1908-1925, Hvidovre Municipal Archive.

³⁸⁵ The sources of this case can be found in *Undervisningsministeriet, 1.dept. 1.knt. J.nr. 1668/48*, Danish National Archives

being used as temporary shelters. It is likely that he was also fully aware of the large number of schoolchildren in Copenhagen who attended school without the legality of their dwellings being investigated.



The school building from 1902 in Hvidovre illustrates how impossible it would be to give access to the school for all the children from the summer houses. There were only two classrooms and they were designed in a way that one teacher could keep an eye on both classes at the same time. It was a school building for a rural area and as a municipal school in a rural municipality with the head teacher acting as secretary for the municipal council the loyalties were clear.

Forstadsmuseet B708

As mentioned, officially there was no housing shortage in rural Hvidovre. Most of the all-year houses were included as parts of the production units consisting of farms and nurseries, or they were individually owned homes that were inhabited by locally employed citizens.

After some months, in September 1921, the Ministry of Education made a decision on the matter after consulting the local authorities, i.e. the two municipalities concerned, the School Board of Sokkelund Herred, to which Hvidovre belonged, and the school authorities in Copenhagen.

The Ministry's decision was that Hvidovre was obliged to enroll the child in school. However, the ministry formulated its decision in such a form that it could not set a precedent for subsequent cases. It is not clear from the sources whether this was

precisely the goal of the formulation, but in practice it functioned as support for the Municipal Council in Hvidovre, which might otherwise have anticipated a stream of pupils from the illegally occupied houses.

Very many cases involved children whose parents had moved out of Copenhagen and where, after some time in Hvidovre, they wanted to have the child in the local school for practical reasons.

*'... he has been taken out of Gasværk School, which he has attended since he was enrolled... As we did not have a flat, we built a house ourselves, and so it was impossible for the boy to walk the long way. Even then, he had two different school hours, from 8 to 11 and from 1 to 3 and in that time had to stay in the street. The reason they (Hvidovre School) give for not taking him is that we live in a wooden house, but it's big and new and can be just as good as the barracks for the homeless, so I think it is no valid reason to deny the boy teaching'.*³⁸⁶

The cases from Hvidovre and the neighbouring Municipality of Rødovre continued to emerge, so a year later the Ministry of Education arrived at a position of principle to the effect that it was the municipalities' obligation to provide education for all school-age children.

The ministry took this view in connection with a case from Rødovre where the Municipal Council had asked the ministry in very general terms about how it should deal with schoolchildren from the summer houses. The ministry answered Rødovre in similarly general terms that meant that future cases from Rødovre were avoided.

But the ministry failed to convey the same general formulation to Hvidovre and therefore cases from Hvidovre about summer-house children's schooling continued to flow into the ministry over the winter and spring of 1923, before the ministry, with the full support of the school commissions in Sokkelund Hundred and Hvidovre, respectively, decided to issue a general injunction that would ensure the children's admission to the school.

While the cases were pending in the Ministry of Education, conflicts in other areas of civil law began to appear in other public bodies. On this basis, the Municipal Council in Hvidovre subsequently refused to accept the Ministry's general order, and cases of summer-house children from Hvidovre who had been turned down therefore continued to appear. The latest documented case against Hvidovre occurred as late as March 1925.

³⁸⁶ *Undervisningsmin. 1. departement, 1. kontor. J.nr.1668/48.* Statens Arkiver. Letter from a summer-house resident to the Director of Education in Copenhagen.



Most of the rejected children from Hvidovre School ended up being received in the nearest Copenhagen school, Vigerslev Alle School which was built in 1910. In architecture as in scale it was an urban school matching the needs of a rapidly growing population. Photo from 1925.

Københavns Museum

In practice, Copenhagen schools accepted a large number of the rejected schoolchildren from Hvidovre without making any special fuss. This practice was not the result of an official Copenhagen policy, because it was implicit that the municipality would not assume responsibility for the homeless and illegal residents from other municipalities. It could also have been actionable, since in another context the Ministry of the Interior was working on proposals that Copenhagen should co-finance the expenditure of the neighbouring municipalities for illegal residents, and Copenhagen had absolutely no interest in this proposal.

As previously mentioned, in 1920 the Board of Health launched an attempt to find a solution to all the problems the illegal residence inflicted on the municipalities. All the surrounding municipalities that were affected by the problem had participated in the work leading to a set of recommendations to the municipalities.

The vast majority of municipalities accepted the growing urbanization as a condition and endorsed the recommendations.³⁸⁷ Only the two municipal councils in Hvidovre and Rødovre rejected them and thus came to stand alone with the civil law problems.³⁸⁸

During the autumn of 1922, one of the Copenhagen tabloids became aware of the new housing shortage dimension in the outskirts of the city. On October 17, the entire front page of *BT* was adorned by a series of the most miserable settlements in Hvidovre, included in a collage of photographs, drawings and captions. Entitled 'The No Man's Land of the Homeless', the article focused on the poor quality of the houses.³⁸⁹

This may have helped to get Hvidovre Grundejerforening to address the problems of the illegal residents at a meeting ten days after the press coverage. The association decided to ask the Municipal Council to take action against the illegal activities and referred to a new area in Hvidovre where a subdivision had started.

*'As it appears that Hvidovre is to be burdened with some less fortunate creatures from Copenhagen (who live in illegal houses), we hereby urge the honourable Municipal Council to take the sharpest measures regarding these residents in Hvidovre. By way of further substantiation, we refer to the building activity at present taking place on Baunebakkegaardens Jorder, to which where there are not even proper roads'.*³⁹⁰

At that time, the Municipal Council had already decided to change its strategy with respect to the illegal residents. Insofar as it was increasingly difficult to ignore the illegal activities, the Council decided to ban all illegal residence with reference to the health and building codes. As part of the new strategy, the Municipal Council, in consultation with the municipality's legal consultant, decided to select a number of cases to take to court.³⁹¹

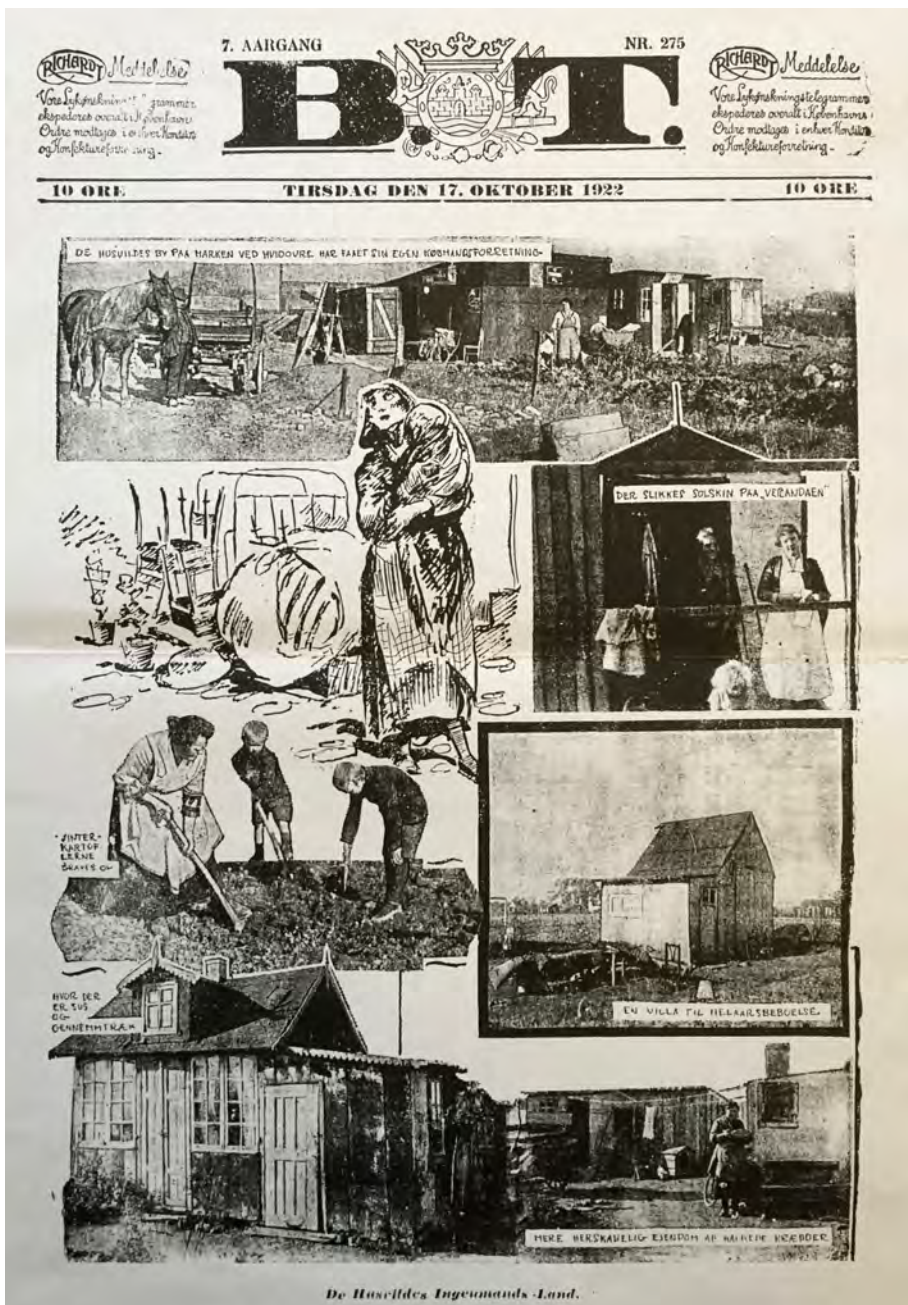
³⁸⁷ J. Johansen, review of K.J. Sørensen, P. Boje, *Fra klondyke til moderne velfærdskommune – Gladsaxe politiske historie 1900- 2000*, Gladsaxe Kommune, 2001, in *Fortid og Nutid* 2002, 3, pp. 246-47.

³⁸⁸ *Letter from the Hvidovre Committee for Health to the Municipal Council*, 1.7.1922, Hvidovre Municipal Archive.

³⁸⁹ *BT* (daily tabloid based on middle-class values) 17.10.1922, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, front page

³⁹⁰ *Hvidovre Sogns Grundejerforening, Minute Book* 28.10.1922, Forstadsmuseet A3.

³⁹¹ *Minute-book for the Municipal Council of Hvidovre*, 12.10.1922, Forstadsmuseet.



Front page of the tabloid BT 17th of October 1922. Hvidovre: 'No-man's land of the homeless.'

Forstads museet C766

Hvidovre Municipality then chose to report some hand-picked cases to the police for illegal residence. Following inspection of the buildings, the local authority health commission had identified the three cases that were selected. Shortly after this initiative, Copenhagen City Council launched a study of the extent of illegal housing there,³⁹² and suddenly there was broader interest in the subject.

The three cases of illegal housing that Hvidovre Municipal Council had reported to the police are rare examples of the difficult living conditions in some of the 'packing-case houses'. In one house the absence of legal road access to the parcel and no regular well for drinking water were noted; inadequate drainage allowed groundwater and surface water to gather around the house where it sometimes penetrated the floorboards, and there was no insulation under the floor, no sewer or drainage, no regular latrine. Finally, the house was not built in accordance with the regulations, as the outer walls only consisted of boards on poles.³⁹³

The Chairman of '*Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejerne i København og Omegn*' (Central Organization for Parcel Associations and Homeowners in Copenhagen and Environs), the editor Jens Tybjerg, was one of the parcel-owners in Risbjerggaards Villaby, where he also became Chairman in 1920 and enrolled the homeowners' association in Centralforeningen the same year.³⁹⁴ Since its foundation, the association had worked to facilitate access to year-round building and housing in the many parcel associations around the capital. The fact that the Chairman himself was a parcel-owner was not without significance for the major role Hvidovre came to play in the proceedings. For example, Jens Tybjerg arranged a visit to his parcel association for the Interior Minister in the summer of 1921 so the Minister could obtain a positive image of the parcel movement.³⁹⁵

Now, two years later, it approached the Ministry of the Interior and raised all the issues prompted by the illegal habitation. The most important was the right to vote, which was connected with the right to be assessed for taxation, and both required

³⁹² These reports were destroyed in the 1950s, allegedly because they dealt with a part of the population of no interest to researchers.

³⁹³ *Letter from the Hvidovre Committee for Health to the Chief Constable*, 18.1.1923. Hvidovre Municipal Archive.

³⁹⁴ *Forhandlingsbog for Parcellforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)*' Forstads museet A/41,2, pp. 35-42.

³⁹⁵ *Forhandlingsbog for Parcellforeningen Risbjerggaards Villaby (ved Flaskekroen)*' Forstads museet A/41,2, p. 67. It is not known whether it was Sigurd Berg, who was Minister until July 11, or O.C. Krag, who came into office on July 18. But as there do not seem to have been any effects of the meeting, it was probably the outgoing Minister who paid a visit.

acceptance by the local municipal council. The inquiry resulted in a formulated wish that the ministry should take action regarding the problems.³⁹⁶

After that, a new player again entered the field in the form of a political party. The socialist newspaper *Socialdemokraten* began to write about the case and focused on the difficulties of the illegal residents in exercising their constitutional right to vote. Party politics had thus come on the scene. It cannot have been easy for the Social Democrats to engage in the case. On the one hand, since its inception, the party's housing policy had been that housing was a state responsibility, and that had been changed only very recently – at the party congress in 1920 – so that the party's goal was non-profit public housing. On the other hand, it meant that the leading opposition party in parliament, which was going for the post of Prime Minister, now supported the illegalities committed by the parcellists.

That it fundamentally could not be easy for the Social Democrats to support the summer-house residents appears from a statement that the party's education Minister Nina Bang made during her time as Minister for Education between 1924 and 1926.

*'In principle I am against workers getting a house and garden; they lose their impact'.*³⁹⁷

The Minister was building on old socialist thinking, as fifty years before Friedrich Engels had pronounced about workers:

*'Get them their own houses, tie them to the soil again, and you break their resistance to being underpaid by manufacturers'.*³⁹⁸

However, in this phase the leader of the Social Democrats, Thorvald Stauning, who would become Prime Minister during the following year, arranged a meeting with party comrades from the municipalities where illegal habitation flourished³⁹⁹. He probably did not personally meet the illegally residing Social Democrats, but the unsustainability of the situation was described to him by the local political minority representatives, who probably represented the rural community's low-income groups more than the city's working class.

³⁹⁶ *Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, 3.3.1923. Indenrigsministeriet, 1. dept. J.nr. 310/23, Danish National Archives.

³⁹⁷ Brummer, C. *Mennesker, Huse – og Hunde*, 1949, pp. 231.

³⁹⁸ www.marxisme.dk 'Om boligspørgsmålet', 1872, second section.

³⁹⁹ *Socialdemokraten* (daily paper representing the Danish Social Democratic Party) 14.3.1923 and 14.4.1923, The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

The politicization of the case complex had the effect locally that for the first time party divisions began to be visible in Hvidovre Municipal Council when it came to the illegal habitation.

THE SUMMER-HOUSE DWELLERS' COMMITTEE

The inquiry from 'Centralforeningen' was the opportunity for the Minister for the Interior to arrange a meeting between the ministry and representatives of the Municipal Council in Hvidovre. In the ministry, the members of the Municipal Council met with the sympathy shown by nationwide party politics when there was a Liberal government and it was farmers who felt pressured in Hvidovre.

But within the ministry, the position of the civil servants on the problem of 'residence' and 'dwelling' was that the illegal residents were to be regarded as 'residents' and therefore should have the right to be included on the tax list and subsequently on the electoral roll. However, at the same time, the permanent secretary vented the opinion internally in the ministry that the Copenhagen City Council would have to shoulder some of the costs to Hvidovre municipality created by the summer-house residents.⁴⁰⁰

The attitude of the head of the department revealed a clear awareness of the causes of illegal habitation in Hvidovre, but did not address – or overlooked – the realities and the logic of municipal politics. The fact that the Copenhagen City Council allowed pupils from Hvidovre access to teaching in Copenhagen without any basis in a legal entitlement had a completely different background from the situation in which Copenhagen would have to accept formal legal/financial responsibility in another municipality.

In the light of the upcoming meeting with the Ministry of the Interior, the Municipal Council in Hvidovre halted the police cases it had just launched against the illegal residents. It is not unlikely that this was a gesture towards the ministry intended to show that the Municipal Council expected that the ministry would resolve problems in line with the views of the majority in the Municipal Council. It was also the Municipal Council majority's clear impression that it met with strong sympathy from the Minister.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Undated note from the permanent secretary commenting on the meeting with council representatives from Hvidovre 24.3.1923. *Indenrigsministeriet Social Knt. J. nr. 259/31*, 1922. Danish National Archives.

⁴⁰¹ Report from *Udvalg til Overvejelse af Spørgsmaalet om Københavnske Udflytteres Stilling i offentligretlig Henseende særlig i Hvidovre og Rødovre Kommuner*, 1923, p. 18.

While this process was underway, Centralforeningen assisted the first summer-house residents to take action against the Municipal Council in Hvidovre to ensure their right to vote. The case lasted for four months before Østre Landsret (the Eastern High Court) passed judgement in the case and found in favour of the summer-house resident's claim that he had 'permanent residence' in the sense of the law on the exercise of voting rights.⁴⁰²

During the procedure, Hvidovre's lawyer had said that if the judgement went against the municipality, the consequence could be that the municipality would have to allow the bailiffs to evict the summer-house residents from their houses. Following the judgement, the Municipal Council Chairman in Hvidovre, Carl Larsen, stated:

*'... we cannot simply accept being the homeless department of Copenhagen ... but we will not let ourselves be dictated to by the parcel associations. It seems that these associations are going to do battle with us, and if they do, we can probably find means to defend ourselves.'*⁴⁰³

Meanwhile, the process was in full swing in the Ministry, and in the middle of June 1923, contacts between the Ministry and the municipal councils in Hvidovre and Rødovre led to the establishment of a committee to deal with the situation of illegal residents in the two municipalities in particular.⁴⁰⁴

With one of the heads of department of the Ministry of the Interior as Chairman, it was ensured that the composition of the committee reflected all the institutional parties who had been involved in the cases. This provided a committee composed of representatives of the two ministries, the two rural municipalities of Copenhagen and Copenhagen County.

It is noteworthy that the summer-house residents were not represented on the committee. Centralforeningen, whose efforts had been instrumental in the appointment of the committee and which represented an overwhelming number of parcel-owners, was not represented. No summer-house residents were consulted during the work of the committee, but Centralforeningen was given the opportunity to make its opinions heard.

⁴⁰² Transcript from *Østre Landsret, dombog for III.afd.* in *Københavns Amtsråd J. nr. 72/1924*. Danish National Archives.

⁴⁰³ *BT*, September 5 1923.

⁴⁰⁴ The following is based on the report from *Udvalg til Overvejelse af Spørgsmaalet om københavnske Udflytters Stilling i offentligretlig Henseende særlig i Hvidovre og Rødovre Kommuner*, 1923.

The conflict moved into the national political and party-political sphere, in that the committee was constituted in accordance with established ministerial practice. The composition of the committee was three officials, two county politicians, two politicians from the Copenhagen City Council and two politicians from each of the two small municipalities. Of the eight politicians on the committee, five were Social Democrats and three were right of centre. The composition of the committee was intended to ensure that its conclusions could and would be implemented in the political/administrative system.

The committee made the first thorough investigation of the scale and character of illegal residence, and it examined the economic impact of illegal housing on rural municipalities. The committee also asked the Ministry of the Interior to investigate the corresponding conditions abroad. This study was conducted, but did not form part of the committee's work.

The committee took less than six months to carry out its work, and the report was submitted in November 1923. As expected, the committee could not reach agreement on recommendations and it submitted a majority and a minority recommendation.

From the start, it was clear that the committee had limited freedom when it came to the interpretation of the relationship between the unlawful nature of the dwellings and the civil rights of the summer-house residents. This had basically been decided by the Ministry of Education in its response to the Municipality of Rødovre in the summer of 1922 and the Østre Landsret judgement on the right to vote, which fell in committee. This was the view that was stated in the preamble to the report.

The committee's analysis of the municipal economy in Hvidovre and Rødovre showed that the municipalities could present a situation report characterized by solidity and low tax rates compared with other municipalities in Copenhagen County. This meant that the committee had to downplay the extent of the threat the summer-house residents posed to the municipal economies.

The committee's Conservative representatives from the municipal councils in Hvidovre and Rødovre found that the study's conclusions about the economy were irrelevant 'unless one considers the municipality where tax is highest the as the ideal'.

Along the way, the committee tried in vain to provide a solution based on an agreement between Copenhagen and the two rural municipalities whereby Copenhagen would take on part of the financial responsibility for summer-house

residents. The attempt was based on the fact that the majority of the summer-house residents had previously been living in Copenhagen, so one could speak of an export of the capital's housing shortage to the two rural municipalities.

The proposal would have provided a temporary solution that could last as long as the housing shortage was widespread and general. This prompted a counter-proposal from Copenhagen which stated that the principle of economic responsibility for citizens who had migrated should apply throughout Denmark, because the Copenhagen municipality itself received homeless people from the whole country.

A nationwide solution according to these guidelines would not be possible, since it would affect a number of financially weak rural municipalities and would moreover be administratively difficult.

During its deliberations, the committee went so far as to discuss the possible incorporation of the rural municipalities in Copenhagen. All the representatives from Hvidovre and Rødovre regardless of party affiliation rejected this solution. Twenty years after Hvidovre had dreamed of incorporation in Copenhagen, no one now saw this as an attractive development, but there is no information about what had changed the view. However, in the midst of a conflict in which the right of centre in Hvidovre saw the drawbacks of urbanization, the prospect of future increases in the value of land must have been less interesting – also because so much land in Hvidovre had already been parcelled out or purchased by out-of-town speculators. It is more surprising that the Social Democrats also opposed incorporation.

The majority recommendation, which was endorsed by all but three members, pointed out that as the economy in the two municipalities was not immediately threatened, they had to bow to the realities of the housing shortage and accept the irregularities. As regards specific violations of local regulations, the municipal councils must be free to use the legal means available: fines and lawsuits.

The minority found that this would lead to total anarchy with respect to the quality of the houses, and it maintained its basic position that municipalities should not be able to escape liability for the civil rights of emigrant citizens before they were registered with an approved residence in their future municipality of residence.

The report was handed over to Interior Minister Krag – and then nothing more happened. As mentioned, the Minister represented a party with liberal values. He – and the government – had no interest in asserting themselves vis-à-vis market

gardeners and farmers to obtain better living conditions for groups of an urban population whose political inclination was towards social democracy. The Interior Minister thus took no further action during the lifetime of the government, which ended in the spring of 1924.

SEQUEL

From November 1923, when the report was submitted, until the official end of the conflict in April 1924, the arena of battle was back in Hvidovre. Since there was no response from the Ministry following the committee's work, clashes occurred between the two parties in Hvidovre Municipal Council. There was to be a general election in the spring of 1924, and before the election the municipality had to draw up tax lists and electoral lists. In December the Social Democratic minority therefore asked the Municipal Council to address the issue of the summer-house occupants, but initially the proposal was postponed.⁴⁰⁵ It was understandable that the Municipal Council majority stalled the proceedings in view of the fact that it had only been a month since the report was submitted, and a response from the Ministry could still be expected.

At the meeting of the Municipal Council in January, the Social Democrats then suggested in connection with the preparation of the lists for the upcoming elections that tax return forms and census lists should be sent to the summer-house residents as to the other residents in the municipality. The Conservatives voted the proposal down.⁴⁰⁶

As it was important to have the lists ready before the elections, the Social Democrats immediately complained to the supervisory authority of the Municipal Council in the county and asked that Hvidovre Municipal Council should be ordered to send the papers to the summer-house residents. The approach triggered the usual case management consultation period, during which the Municipal Council Chairman replied that the Municipal Council would not act on the matter before the Ministry of the Interior had announced its position.⁴⁰⁷ Two weeks later, on February 24, the County Council forwarded the matter to the Ministry of the Interior for further processing.

⁴⁰⁵ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneråd*, 13.12.1923, Forstadsmuseet.

⁴⁰⁶ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneråd*, 10.01.1924, Forstadsmuseet.

⁴⁰⁷ *Hvidovre Sogneråd til Københavns Amtsråd*, 11.2.1924. Københavns Amtsråd J.nr 72/24, Statens Arkiver.

Already upon receipt of the case, the Ministry was aware that there were problems in the Municipal Council in Hvidovre, because in January, immediately after the Conservatives in Hvidovre Municipal Council had rejected the Social Democratic proposal to send registration lists to the summer-house residents, the local Social Democrats called a protest meeting in Hvidovre. Among the participants was the Social Democratic parliamentary politician N.P. Nielsen, who was also Municipal Council Chairman in Tårnby on Amager.

The press coverage revealed that N.P. Nielsen had pledged support from the Social Democrats to the summer-house residents, and in this connection had called the activity of the majority in the Municipal Council ‘criminal’, and he urged the summer-house residents to collect tax return forms from the Chairman of the Social Democratic party branch in Hvidovre.⁴⁰⁸ The promise of Social Democratic support was not empty words on the part of N.P. Nielsen, for in mid-February he wrote to the Ministry of the Interior about the case when the course of events after the public meeting had shown that the Municipal Council majority maintained its line.

N.P. Nielsen gave the Ministry an account of the matter. A large number of the summer-house residents had followed the suggestion at the meeting to fill out tax returns and deliver them – completely in line with the other citizens of the municipality. After that, according to N.P. Nielsen, the Conservative municipal councillors had held an internal meeting where they had sorted the tax returns and removed those handed in by the summer-house residents. The review of tax returns was normally a procedure in which the entire Municipal Council participated. The Social Democrats were represented at a subsequent meeting where tax lists were to be drawn up from the tax returns, and the minority representatives demanded to see the summer-house residents’ tax returns. Municipal Council Chairman Carl Larsen replied ‘... that he would not be dictated to by unauthorized persons and that he had set aside the tax returns in question’.

N.P. Nielsen had to write to the Ministry again just five days later, because in the meantime there had been a stormy meeting in Hvidovre Municipal Council, which had led to the Chairman refusing to record a Social Democratic protest against the removal of the summer-house residents’ tax returns in the minutes.⁴⁰⁹ The trouble in Hvidovre Municipal council did not go unnoticed. The press commented on the

⁴⁰⁸ *Valby Avis* 1.2.1924. Royal Library.

⁴⁰⁹ *Folketingsmedlem N.P. Nielsen til Indenrigsministeriet 16.2.1924 og 21.2.1924*. Indenrigsministeriet, 1. dept. J.nr. 251/24, Statens Arkiver.

situation and even the nationwide satirical magazine *Klods-Hans* published texts about Hvidovre in 1924.



In 1924 the new school in Hvidovre was ready to receive the first pupils. Despite being executed by the conservative/liberal majority of the Municipal Council the school was designed as an urban school. The architect had prepared the building for a stage two which was realized after just two years in 1924, doubling the capacity. The old school was used as a town hall after the new school was built.

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Following the inquiries from N.P. Nielsen, the Ministry launched a consultative procedure where Municipal Council Chairman Carl Nielsen had a somewhat different explanation of the process. He stated that the tax returns had not been opened and sorted at a Municipal Council meeting, but that the task had been regarded as a 'routine matter for the office' – as had happened in previous years – and that the Municipal Council members who wished to participate could do so.⁴¹⁰ Although it cannot be established, it seems likely that the majority had 'forgotten' to inform the minority about the meeting.

The conflict in Hvidovre shows how the difference in the positions of the two parties in the Municipal Council that had appeared in the committee report had been

⁴¹⁰ *Carl Larsen til Indenrigsministeriet 10.3.1924*. Indenrigsministeriet, 1. dept. J.nr. 251/24, Statens Arkiver

transferred to the political life of the municipality. In its actions, the minority assumed that the majority recommendation of the report would be followed, while the majority in the Municipal Council clung to the fact that the Ministry had not taken a decision, and that things would remain the same. The controversy about the procedures probably says most about a personal climate of cooperation that had become quite inflamed and feelings that were difficult to control.

That the conflict was experienced strongly at the personal level too could be gathered, for example, from the Conservative Municipal Council Chairman, a market gardener, refusing to sell his produce to the summer-house residents.⁴¹¹

The fundamental mistrust between the permanent residents and the parcellists in this late phase, when Hvidovre figured in most of the headlines, was also still present in neighbouring municipalities. At the general meeting in February 1924 in a subdivision in southern Rødovre, it was discussed whether the association should invest in some parcels for common use by the members, and in this context it was clearly stated:

*‘If we come out there, we will have to provide for ourselves because Rødovre will not give anything up. Before we arrive out there as residents and thereby get voting rights, we cannot expect to have any say’.*⁴¹²

The Ministry of the Interior once more had to consider its options, but the Ministry did not manage to announce any decision before it was overtaken by a new inquiry from the County of Copenhagen in the Hvidovre case – this time about the electoral lists. In processing the inquiry from the Social Democrats in Hvidovre Municipal Council, the County Council referred to the earlier ruling by Østre Landsret in the Hvidovre case concerning the voting rights of a single summer-house resident, but it forwarded the case to the Ministry as it felt it was unable to take any action itself.

The Ministry worked on the case but it too did not consider that there was a legal basis for enforcing the inclusion of the summer-house residents in the general election list. On the other hand, the Ministry concluded that the County Council in Copenhagen had the right to order Hvidovre Municipal Council to include the summer-house residents in the electoral register for the Municipal Council elections.

⁴¹¹ *Dengang i 20’erne – da byen flyttede på landet*, IN-film 1983.

⁴¹² *Hendriksholms Grundejerforening*, Forhandlingsprotokol, 1. februar 1924, Rødovre Lokalsamling.

When the Ministry responded to the Copenhagen County Council's inquiry, it failed to point out that the Municipal Council could not be forced to include all summer-house residents in the electoral list for general elections. On the other hand, it referred in general terms to the previously-rendered judgement: '... that it has been established by judgement that such persons, whether or not the use of the houses is in conflict with the applicable statutory provisions, are to be incorporated in the general election list in the municipality'.⁴¹³

It is thought-provoking that the Ministry gave an answer that would put pressure on the Municipal Council majority in the question of the right to vote at a general election, when the judgement by Østre Landsret had already laid down that the individual citizen had to raise the issue him- or herself. But there must have been a certain amount of fatigue regarding conditions in Hvidovre at this time.

In Hvidovre, events overtook the Ministry's casework. For reasons that are not mentioned in the sources, the Municipal Council majority now decided that the Municipal Council would willingly record summer-house residents on the electoral roll. It seems likely that the Municipal Council had realized that the County Council would come up with an order to include the summer-house residents in the Municipal Council list, and the battle for the right to vote at parliamentary elections was therefore less important. The prospect of a possible political shift in power in the municipality must have been far more frightening than a national power switch. Thus might explain why the Municipal Council majority, without any documented external cause, changed course on the issue of voting at general elections. The local controversy about the matter may have been a contributory factor.

The newspaper *Socialdemokraten* (The Social Democrat) had continued to comment on the situation in Hvidovre, and on March 11 the newspaper gave an account of a meeting at the restaurant Risbjerggård in Hvidovre. A non-political meeting on the establishment of a group under the national egg exports board Dansk Andelsægexport ended with fifty summer-house residents attending the meeting adopting a statement of complaint to the Municipal Council about not being registered to vote. The paper published the minutes with the headline '*More Criticism of the Molboregiment (the stupid and naïve) in the Municipal Council*'. So, the mood in Hvidovre was heated, and at this time the number of summer-house residents must have corresponded to the number of citizens in the municipality if the growth rate of settlement that was recorded in the committee report from November 1923 had continued.

⁴¹³ Ministry of the Interior to the Inspector for Copenhagen County, 18.3.1924. Indenrigsministeriets 1. dept. J.nr. 87/23, Statens Arkiver

At all events, Hvidovre Municipal Council now held two meetings where all complaints about not being registered to vote were reviewed. The review resulted in about 300 people being recorded, which was almost all the complainants.⁴¹⁴ The result was naturally commented on in *Socialdemokraten*, which was happy about the party political angle:

‘... without the energetic work of the Social Democrats for their civil rights, on April 11 they would have been unable to use their votes to help determine the welfare of the country’.⁴¹⁵

There was yet another local complaint process in which a number of summer-house residents complained about not having been able to participate in the admission meetings because of work and of having been rejected when they came in spite of the fact that the Municipal Council meeting was still in progress.⁴¹⁶ The complaint led to the inclusion of another handful of summer-house residents on the electoral roll, and thus this part of the case was finally completed.

In parallel with the winter and spring issue about voting rights, work was carried out on the problems of the summer-house residents’ tax payments and their inclusion in the census lists that were crucial for access to full municipal rights. A year earlier, in March 1923, the Ministry of the Interior had instructed the Municipal Council to record summer-house residents on the tax list, but now in February 1924 the Tax Department found that nothing had happened in the case. The Tax Department now asked the Ministry of the Interior whether the Ministry had any objection to applying Section 45 of the National Tax Act, whereby individual members of the Municipal Council in Hvidovre could face daily fines.⁴¹⁷

The position of the Municipal Council majority remained clear in this area, as Municipal Council Chairman Carl Larsen replied on March 10 that the Council did not intend to do anything as long as the Ministry of the Interior had not presented the overall solution that the committee’s work and the report had anticipated.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁴ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneråd*, 19.03.1924 og 21.3.1923, Forstadsmuseet.

⁴¹⁵ *Socialdemokraten* 22.3.1924.

⁴¹⁶ *Klage til Indenrigsministeriet* 24.3.1924, Indenrigsministeriet 1. dept. J.nr. 111/24, Statens Arkiver.

⁴¹⁷ *Skattedepartementet til indenrigsministeriet*, 14.2.1924, Indenrigsministeriets 1. dept. J.nr. 310/23,

⁴¹⁸ *Sognerådsformand Carl Larsen til Indenrigsministeriet*, 10.3.1924, Indenrigsministeriets 1. dept. J.nr. 310/23, Statens Arkiver.

Nothing more was done in the case at the central level, and in April trouble arose again in Hvidovre. Now the Social Democratic minority in the Municipal Council complained that the majority refused to record summer-house residents on the tax list and the majority stated that they would not change their position before the Ministry of the Interior found an overall solution.⁴¹⁹

At the beginning of May, the Tax Department was ready to take action against Hvidovre. In a letter to the County Council the Tax Department asked it to urge the Municipal Council to record the summer-house residents on the census list so they could be placed in a tax bracket for the fiscal years 1923/24 and 1924/25. If this were not done, the Tax Department would recommend that the Ministry of Finance should 'dictate daily fines to the members of the Municipal Council who still refused'.⁴²⁰

In the County Council's finance committee, N.P. Nielsen commented on the seemingly endless resistance from the Municipal Council majority with the words:

'The Municipal Council's stubbornness is quite incomprehensible...'

and another member, J. Josephsen, not only expressed the same astonishment, but also a vengeful expectation for the future,

*'It is to be hoped that the merciless Municipal Council in the municipality of Hvidovre will soon get to feel that one cannot break the laws of the country with impunity and that Hvidovre is not a sovereign republic with Mr Larsen as President'.*⁴²¹

Josephsen's statement should be seen in the light of the facts that the general election had been held and that the result was a victory for the Social Democrats, who now occupied the post of Prime Minister, and that with a Social Democratic Interior Minister there was a prospect of renewed energy.

On May 22 1924, the Ministry of the Interior finally stated that 'residents of the houses in question in respect to municipal tax liability and as regards the right to vote for both parliament and the municipal council must be in the same position as the other residents of the municipality without consideration of the issue as to whether the use of the houses may be in conflict with the applicable statutory

⁴¹⁹ *Breve fra sognerådets to partier til Københavns Amtsråd, 7.4.1924 og 28.4.1924, Københavns Amtsråd J.nr. 72/24, Statens Arkiver.*

⁴²⁰ Tax Department to Copenhagen County Council, 2.5.1924, Københavns Amtsråd J.nr. 72/24, Statens Arkiver.

⁴²¹ Comment from members of the County Council N.P. Nielsen and J. Josephsen, 23.5.1924 and undated, Københavns Amtsråd J.nr. 72/24, Statens Arkiver.

regulations. The county is therefore requested to inform Hvidovre Municipal Council that, as soon as possible, it should send the inhabitants of those houses tax return forms for use in their tax assessment, and, likewise, those persons are to be recorded on the municipal census list'.⁴²²

Finally, in May 1924 the Ministry had taken a decision that was fully in line with the majority recommendation of the report that had come from the '*Committee to consider the question of the Copenhagen settlers' position in public law particularly in Hvidovre and Rødovre Municipalities*' in November 1923.

It took the new Interior Minister just a few weeks to have the decision taken and announced. This is a strong indication that it was party politics that in the six months before had caused the Ministry to hesitate, despite the fact that the civil service had taken a stance on the outcome.

In the final analysis, the settlement of the conflict was due to an alliance between a popular organization, which moved from very local to regional status during the period, and national party politics. The prerequisite for the alliance was that party politics adapted to the specific current and local circumstances.

The fact that the Social Democrats could focus on the constitutional right to vote as the object of the battle for the rights of the illegal residents more than their housing conditions made it possible for the party to turn a blind eye to the vigilantism and the illegalities that were the basis of the summer-house residents' problems with civil rights.

In late May, the Municipal Council took note of the decision, but not without bitter comments about now having to change the municipality's statutes so that all citizens could be equal. It was understood that procedures should now be relaxed so the ordinary citizens could also abstain from complying with the requirements.⁴²³ No attempt was ever made to put this threat into practice.

The clear decision should have concluded all the conflicts that arose from summer-house residents' behaviour and conditions of life, but this was not to be. During the autumn of 1924, the Conservative Municipal Council majority continued to obstruct the summer-house residents' access to admission to the tax lists, and a new round of

⁴²² *Indenrigsministeriet til Københavns Amtsråd, 22.5.1924, Københavns Amtsråd J.nr. 72/24, Statens Arkiver.*

⁴²³ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneråd, 28.5.1924, Forstadmuseet.*

mutual complaints once more began to involve all parties, from the Municipal Council to the Ministry.

In November, N.P. Nielsen was a speaker at a meeting at the inn Flaskekroen on the with Hvidovre, where about 200 residents participated. Evidently, the continuing problems could continue to mobilize the summer-house residents. Now it was all about a new perspective in local development.

*‘How long the current Municipal Council is allowed to pick and choose at will is probably also only a question of time. When a new election is called in the immediate future, the people of the municipal will know how to say thank you and instead elect a Municipal Council with more consideration for the interests of the residents and justified grievances’.*⁴²⁴

In the autumn, the seemingly endless series of conflicts culminated in the tax assessment of the summer-house residents. The key issue was now that the Municipal Council majority made summer-house residents liable for tax for the entire period of the conflict. This was in line with its general attitude that if the summer-house residents were to have rights, they should be placed on a completely equal footing with the permanent residents and thus have paid all taxes due for the previous period in order to be allowed to use their newly-won right to vote.

However, the Chief Administrative Authority had taken the decision that the summer-house residents should only have paid their taxes for the last three quarters of 1924 to be allowed to vote in the Municipal Council elections in March 1925, and the Ministry of the Interior confirmed this in January 1925. Nevertheless, as late as February 1925 the last complaint meandered through the system at the same time as the Ministry of the Interior summoned Hvidovre Municipal Council to a meeting where the Ministry instructed the Municipal Council also to include summer-house residents on the electoral roll who had only paid tax for the period after October 1924.⁴²⁵

A final conflict characterized the Municipal Council’s work in the last month before the Municipal Council election. Both parties appealed to the County Council in a case that was partly rooted in procedure and partly a resumption of tax questions. The heartfelt bitterness that by degrees must have influenced all aspects of the

⁴²⁴ Valby Avis, 21.11.1924.

⁴²⁵ Folketingsmedlem N.P.Nielsen til Indenrigsministeriet, 16.2.1924 og møde i ministeriet 21.2.1925, Indenrigsministeriet, 1. dept. J.251/24, Statens Arkiver.

Municipal Council was expressed in the Municipal Council Chairman's letter to the County Council, where he commented on one of the Social Democratic members:

'Hr. Kudsk in particular has sinned in that regard and must especially be instructed'.⁴²⁶



*Hvidovre's Municipal Council on an excursion after the social-democratic take-over. There is no indication of winners or losers in the attitudes of the persons in the photo. From left: a conservative lessee, a social/liberal pilot/market gardener, a social democratic gas worker, a social/liberal farm owner, a social democratic lessee, a social democratic market gardener (chairman), a social democratic smith, a social democratic brewery worker, a social democratic market gardener.*⁴²⁷ It is remarkable, that only three of the nine members had trades that directly related to the urban industrial sphere, and three out of six winning social democrats had trades relating to local agriculture. There was more rural than urban background in this group - although it worked for Hvidovre's future placement in the suburban landscape of Copenhagen.

Forstadsmuseet B13950

⁴²⁶ *Partierne i Hvidovre Sogneråd til Københavns Amtsråd 6.2.1924 og 8.2.1924, Københavns Amtsråd J. nr. 114/25, Statens Arkiver*

⁴²⁷ *Ernst Andersens Arkiv A2008/37. Forstadsmuseet*

The Municipal Council elections finally took place on March 10 1925. The Social Democrats gained votes for their efforts and benefited from the bitterness of the conflict and the intransigence of the Conservatives. At 79%, voter participation was high, but it cannot be established whether it was much more than in previous elections, since the numbers of voters in Hvidovre had not been recorded in the previous Municipal Council elections.⁴²⁸ In this election, the Municipal Council was enlarged from seven to nine members, and the Social Democrats won a comfortable majority of six of the nine seats. This allowed the Social Democrats to take the post of Municipal Council Chairman, which at the time of writing the party has now held for almost 90 years.

CONCLUSION

The original dispute was initially between the local population who were dedicated to market gardening on the one hand, and a group of parcel-owners who dreamed of constructing villas on the other. They fought over roads, sewers and the provisions of the building regulations. Over the years, the struggle shifted its ground as a result of the housing shortage during the First World War, and the original parcellists with dreams of villas were supplemented by families who took up permanent residence in their summer houses in Hvidovre in defiance of all regulations.

From being organized in local homeowners' associations, the parcellists established solidarity between the homeowners' associations in the municipality, and finally organized themselves regionally so they could get support from far wider circles. It was not so far from there to mobilizing the political level, where the Social Democrats were to some extent ready to take the parcellists' side.

The party-political orientation undoubtedly cost the summer-house residents the backing of some of the parcellists with villa dreams. It is also characteristic that the minutes of the homeowners' associations are not overflowing with statements of support for the summer-house residents or outrage at the social conditions of the settlements.

The conflict revealed a national political/administrative system that was divided against itself, and a system in which party politics were largely able to manage the administrative apparatus when it came to facing the consequences of the administration's work.

⁴²⁸ *Valgbog for valget 10.3.1925*, Hvidovre Kommunearchiv.

The pressure from normal social development during the First World War came to govern building development in Hvidovre. However, Hvidovre's special direction during the inevitable urbanization determined by the growth of Copenhagen and agricultural mechanization developed in several directions.

Local agents, a regional level represented by the City of Copenhagen and the County and State in the form of government, parliament and ministries, political parties and associations, interacted in the battle for control of the development of the form of housing and building also coveted by less affluent Danes, and which, completely without management, had helped to relieve the worst of the housing shortage.

The conflict over the widespread illegal habitation around Copenhagen was written out of the story of the path towards the welfare society. There was no room to retain the image of the large population group that organized their own housing conditions within or outside the regulations on health, roads and construction.

The extensive parcel landscape, into which tens of thousands of Danes already moved during the inter-war period, was not dominated either by building associations or by authorized architecture. The building style of necessity was to frame the population of the suburb.

Subdivision development was largely driven by speculators whose activities could not be restricted by municipal councils. However, municipal councils could in principle manage the nature of the development; but because of the housing shortage, the municipal councils' measures were ineffective against newcomers who ignored the rules.

The local community in Hvidovre – meaning the controlling groups – prevailed by preventing all-year construction on the plots that did not meet all statutory requirements. However, just as obviously it lost the struggle to avoid having the illegal settlers as citizens.

On site, the newcomers themselves controlled the pace of relocation, while the Conservative Municipal Council majority controlled the nature of the settlement. Ironically, this meant that Hvidovre instead of having solid single-family houses that could attract solid middle-class citizens, had the many summer houses which in the long run, in all-year conditions, attracted citizens who were financially less robust.

However, this meant that it also lost the political battle for the future.

With this phase of development, the periurban sphere in Hvidovre was restricted to the few remaining agricultural areas that had not yet been earmarked, and even here, the room for manoeuvre was limited by the nature of the single-family house neighbourhoods.

Copenhagen City Council had not wanted to incorporate Hvidovre in 1901 and, of course, would not subsequently assume responsibility for safeguarding social conditions in the neighbouring municipality. Nevertheless, by the end of this period Copenhagen's understanding of the nature and speed of urbanization and speed had changed, so the new attitude to Hvidovre's future role was now also changing.



The earliest specialized shop in Hvidovre besides hardware- and bike-shops was this draper's shop, photographed in the late 1920's.

Forstadmuseet B17215

There were numerous hardware-shops satisfying the needs of the home-builders. This shop was established in the 1937 and was owned by the same family for three generations, photographed in 1940. The owner had a large timber-yard behind the building.

Forstadmuseet B16498



13 From periurban to suburban

When Hvidovre's 11-year-long moving-in and housing-related turbulence was completed in the late 1920s, the scene was set for the end of the periurban phase

About half of the municipality's land was still uncommitted, in the sense that it was under cultivation and that there were no specific plans for its future use. When the majority of the land was committed, the periurban phase would be completed and the suburb of Hvidovre would be a reality with a clearly defined social and housing-related profile, at least for a period.

The backdrop for the final stage was obviously the previous chaotic rollout of single-family house neighbourhoods under the pressure of a housing shortage and unregulated growth, a background that had far-reaching consequences

The combination of Hvidovre's current profile, the nature of the existing buildings and the future use of the last undeveloped land would together come to define the development framework of the future suburb.

The Social Democrats' takeover of the local political scene brought Hvidovre into line with Copenhagen politically. Locally, there was thus an understanding that urbanization was inevitable, but the shared party-political affiliation was not necessarily the same as having common goals for development and certainly not in terms of any municipal mergers.

As mentioned, there was a transient coupling between the individual single-family house culture and the social housing movement in Hvidovre during the struggles concerning housing legislation in the periurban phase. Later on, this experience played a part in the wholehearted support shown by the local social-democratic single-family house owners for social housing projects which, after the Second World War, were to provide an entire generation of industrial workers in Copenhagen with decent housing conditions in Hvidovre.

In this respect there was strong local backing for a housing policy that developed Hvidovre's hitherto uncommitted land for settlement purposes in accordance with the social-democratic dream of an inclusive, speculation-free housing market run by social housing associations.

During the process Hvidovre developed into a suburb dominated by workers and the lower middle class, with the new collective settlement pattern that became the norm for the post-war welfare suburbs next to the already existing single-family house neighbourhoods.

By the time of its final development at the start of the 1960s, Hvidovre had become a suburb where the social housing sector accounted for more than one-third of the housing stock. In 1945, this sector had not even been represented.



The photo from 1948-55 of central Hvidovre illustrate many periurban layers. From the bottom: Farmland owned by the municipality of Copenhagen, individually owned allotment gardens, single family houses, social housing projects and privately owned rented housing. The suburb Hvidovre is getting its future profile. A parkbelt runs across the top and marks the border to Copenhagen.

Forstadmuseet B4553



Map of the municipality of Hvidovre, 1936. The one-family house areas are established with their grid of streets while the open areas are still farmed. The bathe by the coast still point to the recreative attractions of the periurban landscape. Bathing would be forbidden within few years due to pollution from industry in Copenhagen.

Forstadmuseet kort, Hvidovre 1936

The end of Hvidovre's periurban phase took place through a combination of a new local political majority in conjunction with the battle for legalization of summer houses as dwellings, the land policy of the Copenhagen municipality, the emerging planning culture and a national housing policy.

In 1924, the negative consequences in civil law for the illegal occupation of summer houses had *de facto* been abolished by the Folketing when it adopted a law on a national population register. The law contained a passage stating that illegal residents could not subsequently be deprived of their civil rights for reasons pertaining to the legality of their residence.

Naturally, the law did not deprive the municipalities of the right to exercise the authority enshrined in municipal statutes in relation to ensuring the legality of the buildings, but the state of housing in Hvidovre and the neighbouring municipality of Rødovre was basically not changed because of the changed status of summer-house dwellers.

Their houses were not insulated, the drainage situation had not been significantly improved, and the size of the houses was not affected. It was the widespread individual construction changes during the 1930s that eventually enabled the residents to legalize their homes through renovations, extensions and new construction.

In Hvidovre, political/administrative matters were chaotic in the years after the change of government in 1925, and this by itself might have spoken in favour of inclusion in Copenhagen. The fierce enmity between the representatives of the 'old Hvidovre' and the newcomers, now represented by the Social Democrats in local politics, was clearly reflected in the period between 1925 and 1929.⁴²⁹

Mutual accusations in the municipal council of economic default on municipal matters and fraud led to the foundation of a new local party, a new local newspaper that could compete with the existing one, and a political split within the Social Democrat party. So the break, which became a political reality with the Social Democrats' victory in the municipal council elections in 1925, was not a break in terms of good governance in the municipality. The new regime did not have much experience to build on.

'It was a motley crew that Nielsen got as helpers: there was no lack of good will, but they did not have the necessary skills.'

⁴²⁹ The local political process is thoroughly analysed in Thomsen, H.C. *Klondike uden revolvere, Hvidovre 1900-1929*, 2002.

*Carl Nielsen had a little experience; but he was not able to see that an appropriate number of knowledgeable people were needed at the municipal office to perform the daily work ...
... But a new leader entered the scene at the elections of 1928 (1929). Eleven years of mismanagement came to an end, and out of the chaos grew, slowly but surely, the basis for an urban community'.⁴³⁰*

STABILIZATION

There was an intervention in the conditions in Hvidovre when Prime Minister Th. Stauning took the initiative to have a social-democratic union leader move to Hvidovre to become a candidate for the municipal council in Hvidovre .

The manoeuvre succeeded and the General Secretary of the Moulders' Union, Arnold Nielsen, was elected with the final mandate of the Social Democratic group at the municipal council elections in 1929 and was then elected chairman of the municipal council. With an experienced trade union chairman at the helm, the prevailing administrative disarray was soon brought to order and the municipal staff faction was strengthened.

In the area of housing, the 1930s in Hvidovre were a period of adjustment when a number of illegally occupied houses were upgraded for permanent habitation, while some were demolished to make room for actual permanent residences; but many summer houses were still used for permanent habitation. In this decade, the first multi-storey private rental properties since the turn of the century were built along Hvidovrevej and Vigerslev Alle. The properties were now built in three residential layers of the type known from Vigerslev and parts of Valby.

The decade was also the period when the basic technical installations, which were a precondition for urbanization, were constructed. There was investment in pressurized water, sewers and modern roads that could handle the growing traffic, and at the same time the homeowners' associations were upgraded to municipally approved standards.

Despite rising unemployment, the thirties were a boom time for the municipality, during which the school system and library system were also improved. With the

⁴³⁰ A retrospect from about 1950 by a resident of Hvidovre who had moved to the municipality before the First World War. Undated newspaper cutting, *Ernst Andersens Arkiv A2008/36*. Forstads museet.



The urbanization-process headed by the social-democratic chairman Arnold Nielsen was not only about sewers, roads and pressurized water. Also modern schools and an ambitious library were among the results. Hvidovre library 1936. The library was built simultaneously with the waterworks on the lands of the only farm bought by the municipality. Later the new townhall and the municipal technical services were also placed here.

Forstadsmuseet B14705

construction of school number two in the south in 1934 and a third school in the north in 1940, the municipality was provisionally up to date with needs. In the cultural area, the social-democratic programme was already in evidence from the late 1920s on with the establishment of a local adult education association, and the Social Democrats' constituency association demanded a library. This was realized to such a degree that Hvidovre Library, built in 1936, became the country's largest municipal library outside the urban municipalities.⁴³¹

The population doubled in a decade and went on to put pressure on the municipality's economy. The vast majority of newcomers moved to single-family homes in the major subdivisions from the 1910s and 1920s, but some new developments also appeared in the 1930s.

⁴³¹ Sverrild, P. *Hvidovre er ingen by*, in *Hvidovre Lokalhistorie* vol. 10. no. 3 Aug. 1992, p. 14 and Sverrild, P. *Hvidovre og biblioteket*, in Østergaard Bertelsen, J. (ed.) *Det begyndte i et udhus*, 2006, p. 10.

The predominantly positive development of Hvidovre through the 1930s was to some extent halted by the German Occupation in 1940, and among other things a new wave of illegal residents arrived in Hvidovre. But in general the local land development through the 1930s was a continuation of what had been experienced in the 1920s.

THE LAST OPEN AREAS

New possible directions for local development in Hvidovre in this phase were based on the existence of the remaining areas where agriculture and horticulture still existed.

With the acquisitions in 1929 and 1933 of the farms Spurvegården, Friheden and Sønderkærgård in Hvidovre, the municipality of Copenhagen tried to secure a future development area there, just as the municipality bought up farms in a number of other municipalities in the western and northern hinterland. At this time, ownership of the three farms made the City of Copenhagen the absolutely largest individual landowner in Hvidovre.

In comparison, even from the mid-1930s, Hvidovre municipality itself owned the land of a single farm only. This was Høvedstensgården, its purchase in 1935 prompted by the need for a site for the future library and waterworks.⁴³² There were in addition a few small municipally-owned properties, one of which, a plot at the beach that the municipality had bought during the First World War, was the only one that did not serve a practical purpose at the time.

The remaining agricultural land was owned by a wide circle of speculators and some locals. The absence of land use planning in Hvidovre municipality – combined with the municipality's weak economic foundation – gave rise to problems for even the smallest new municipal activities that required land.

For example, in 1937 the municipal council asked the Copenhagen municipality for permission to buy land for a sports field beside the municipality's oldest school. The Copenhagen City Council would not sell the land, but in accordance with local practice at the time would only lease it under long-term contract terms known as 'escheat'.⁴³³

⁴³² Schultz, E.R. *Hvidovre Kommunebibliotek – kommenteret tidstavle*, 1981, p. 25.

⁴³³ *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneraad 1937-39*, 4.11.1937. Forstadmuseet.

The future development of the municipality of Copenhagen's large areas in Hvidovre would be crucial for Hvidovre's frame of development and the profile and character that Hvidovre would gain as a suburb. By this time of course Copenhagen had an approach to planning that been updated in relation to legislation and planning professionalism.

'... The planning of these areas, which is most often left to the Town Planning Department, is carried out in collaboration with the local municipal authorities which, under the Town Planning Act of 1938, are the Town Planning Authority within each area'.⁴³⁴

In the view of Copenhagen, the process of dealing with the properties outside the municipal boundary was simple. Through negotiations with 'the local municipal authorities', Copenhagen was to secure the future use of the areas in accordance with the city's needs.

But the asymmetry between Copenhagen and Hvidovre was reflected in the administrative framework that was to handle the process. Whereas Copenhagen had a town planning department, Hvidovre had a municipal engineer and a building inspector to take care of all technical matters in the municipality – including the new concept of urban planning.⁴³⁵ The development of the future use of the property was not an area where the periphery had very much influence.

THE ADVENT OF PLANNING

The second tool that Copenhagen would have liked to use vis-à-vis Hvidovre and other surrounding municipalities was incorporation. As mentioned earlier, this had been aired in the context of committee work on illegal habitation, but Hvidovre was not included in the new concrete plans for incorporation before the commission's work during and after the Second World War, which was to provide a comprehensive system for metropolitan political/administrative matters. Meanwhile, Copenhagen's incorporation plans had been aimed partly at Frederiksberg and partly at Gladsaxe and Lyngby.

The almost continuous discussion of incorporations in Copenhagen and the organization of constitutional matters in the metropolitan area in the inter-war

⁴³⁴ *København – de indlemmede Distrikter 1901-41*. Stadsingeniørens Direktorat 1942, p. 150.

⁴³⁵ The municipal engineer in Hvidovre was only permanently appointed in the spring of 1938. Up to then, he had worked as municipal engineer since 1919. A building inspector was appointed in 1929. *Forhandlingsprotokol for Hvidovre Sogneraad 1937-39*, 2.12.1937 and *Ernst Andersens Arkiv A2008/36*. Forstads museet.

period was not only a result of the ability of the Copenhagen City Council, as early as the 1920s, to see that there would be an end to the expansion potential within the framework of the existing municipal boundaries. It was also a natural consequence of the rapidly growing recognition of the need for overall physical planning and management of the growth of the entire metropolitan area.

With the establishment of Danish Town Planning Laboratory in 1921, the first Danish Urban Planning act in 1925, the Danish Engineering Association's 'Traffic Line Report' of 1926, and the appointment of the 'Committee for the Planning of Green areas in Copenhagen' in 1928, which delivered its recommendations in 1936, and finally the second Town Planning Act in 1938, the agenda for the urban growth in Copenhagen fundamentally changed compared with the first half of the 1920s.

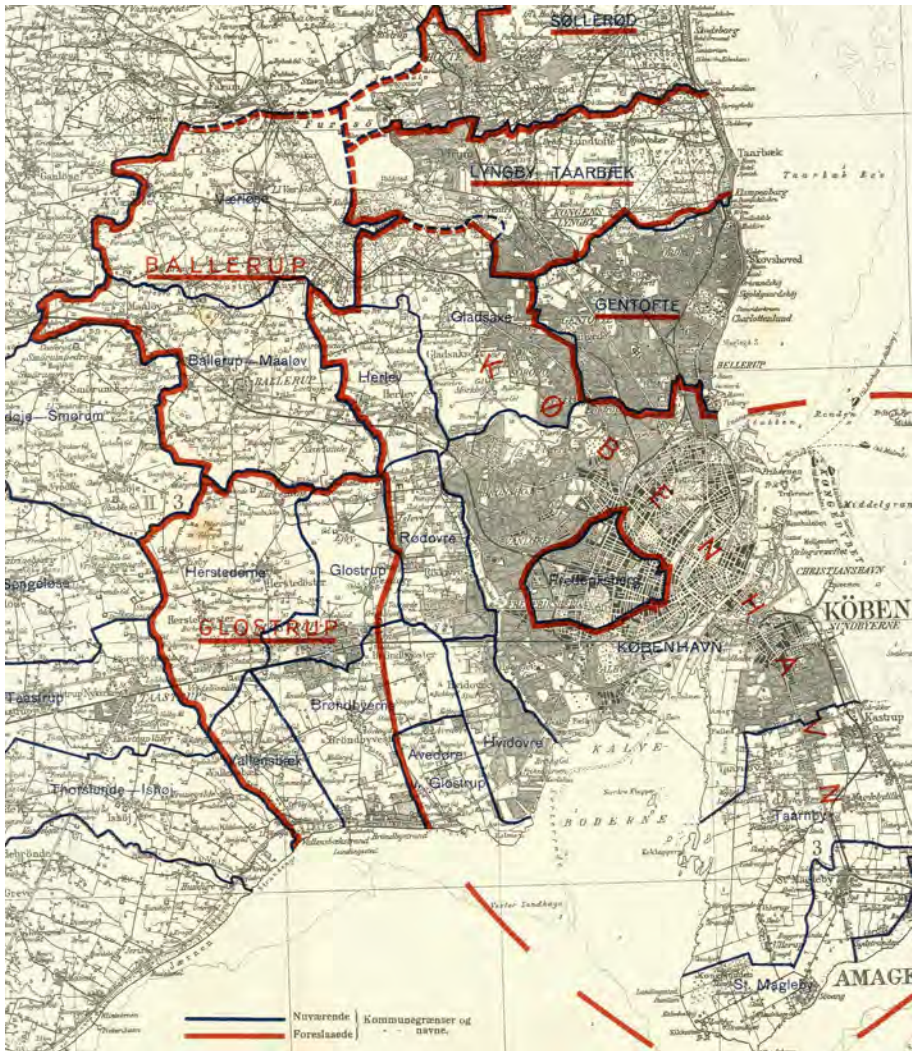
This meant on the one hand that there was a common understanding between the state and the municipalities that it was necessary to clarify the relationships between periphery and centre, and on the other hand that it was also a possibility for a part of the periphery to develop a heightened awareness of the role it could play.

Hvidovre was not represented in the work of the Metropolitan Commission that was set up in 1939 to sort out the problems of growth, and which submitted its report in 1948. There was no local political tradition for taking on these kinds of tasks, and the death of the municipal council chairman Arnold Nielsen in 1942 meant that there was no strong municipal council chairman who could play a role.⁴³⁶

The Commission's thorough work, which was mainly about incorporations and municipal mergers, was put on standby during some of the years of the Occupation, and in the end it was overtaken by the unauthorized planning work that resulted in the 1947 'Finger Plan'. However, the work revealed that outside the municipality of Copenhagen there was not much interest either in inclusion in the metropolitan municipality or in mergers into larger units.

The management of the physical development of the metropolitan area thus turned into another pathway where, as a consequence of the 'Finger Plan', the Folketing passed a law in 1949 that was meant to regulate urban development. Subsequently,

⁴³⁶ After the death of Arnold Nielsen there was some local disagreement among the Social Democrats over the local line of succession. This resulted in an interregnum during which a Social Democrat was elected municipal council chairman by right-of-centre votes. There was plenty to do at the local level.



Map designed by the Capital Commission for the 1948-report and depicting the ideas for the future organization of Greater Copenhagen as seen by the majority of the commission. The map illustrates the existing power-relations between centre and periphery and between social classes. Copenhagen was to incorporate seven neighboring municipalities plus parts of two more to the west and south but would leave the two neighboring conservative bourgeois municipalities Frederiksberg and Gentofte alone.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ Enclosure to *Betænkning afgivet af Hovedstadskommissionen*, 1948

an urban development committee was set up for the Copenhagen area with the aim of dividing the areas into inner, intermediate and outer zones.⁴³⁸

The zoning provisions were of minor importance for the municipality of Hvidovre, since there still existed so much uncommitted land, and for the areas that were located in the intermediate zone they would simply mean a postponement of development. It was more significant for local development that the housing shortage after the years of the Occupation controlled and limited building activities through the newly established Ministry of Housing.

In 1941, on the basis of the interwar experience of unplanned development in Copenhagen's neighbouring municipalities to the west, the Capital Commission found that

'It is the municipalities within this limit (Vestvolden) which are particularly exposed to economic and other difficulties in that the almost fully developed Copenhagen surplus population, for the most part less well-off, cross or are pushed over the municipal boundary. In such areas in particular, settlement soon shows an unfortunate development'.⁴³⁹

The social profile of the urban development areas west of Copenhagen was thus reaffirmed, and the image from the game of Monopoly, based on the chaotic conditions of the 1920s, was the basis on which the future was planned. It is characteristic that contemporary documents mainly establish that it is a Copenhagen problem – not a 'Greater Copenhagen' one – that needs to be solved. The periphery – with the exception of Frederiksberg and Gentofte – did not really appear with the status of an independent agent. It was not primarily the urbanization of the capital that was addressed, but the interests and challenges of the municipality of Copenhagen.

CONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT

The failure to manage the complexity of construction development in Hvidovre was obviously still physically evident, and for a long time the housing stock of the municipality was affected by the dispute over the summer-house dwellers, because the legalization of the houses was not enforced in connection with the *de facto* legalization of the habitations of the dwellers. In an official version of the strategy

⁴³⁸ *Materialesamling til Hovedstadskommissionens betænkning, Bilag a-d*. Indenrigsministeriet December 1995, p. 47. statensnet.dk

⁴³⁹ *Betænkning afgivet af Hovedstadskommissionen*, 1948, p. 43.

of the Hvidovre municipality for the houses, which the municipal council chairman described in 1951, it was stated that

*‘One of the most difficult tasks was to bring the self-builder houses into line with local building codes. We solved this by dividing these houses into 3 categories: 1. those that could get a building certificate with little change; 2. those that could be brought into line with building codes with a reasonable amount of effort; and 3. those whose construction was of such a nature that they were not suitable for long-term human occupation. The no. 1 houses were dealt with immediately. The no. 2 houses were granted a dispensation for a few years. The no. 3 were not permitted to be used for permanent habitation’.*⁴⁴⁰

However, this clear plan of action concealed a different reality where there were many problems with the quality of the year-round houses for a long time. In a report from 1962, a municipal official described the status of illegal habitation in Hvidovre as follows:

*‘Many of the holiday cottages were used from time to time, however, for permanent habitation in violation of restrictive covenants and building codes, and these illegal habitations have long been a problem for the normal development of the city. As late as the autumn of 1961, a serious effort was made to address this problem, and illegal habitation in homes that were owner-occupied was terminated at five years’ notice. Only one year’s notice was given in the case of tenancies’.*⁴⁴¹

The absence of planning in this field meant that it was not until 1961 that the generally increasing standard of living allowed the municipality to require solid foundations and a WC in the houses as a condition of lawful residence. It was only in 1966 – 50 years after the earliest record of illegal habitation – that the granting of dispensations and the turning of a blind eye to housing standards in Hvidovre came to an end.⁴⁴²

Now, in the first part of the 21st century, houses in Hvidovre’s old subdivisions can still be seen with an originally illegally occupied summer house at the core. Since

⁴⁴⁰ Interview with Tøft Sørensen, municipal council chairman in Hvidovre- Tøft Sørensen. *Byens Stemme*, Hvidovre socialdemokratiske vælgerforening. No. 1, volume 1, October 1951. Forstads museet.

⁴⁴¹ *Ernst Andersens Arkiv A/228/36*, Forstads museet

⁴⁴² In addition to the illegal habitation described in this thesis, there was almost constant illegal habitation of allotment gardens in the municipality, and this continues to be the case; cf. Hvidovre Municipality, case no. 14/32216, doc no. 250608/14, 13.10.2014

their beginnings as small one- or two-room summer houses, the houses have grown through outbuildings, top storeys, dormers etc. It is only over the past two decades that they have really started being demolished under the impact of changes in the post-industrial social geography of the metropolis.

On the political front, the local outcome of the extremely protracted and bitter conflict was a strong and significant majority culture. The Social Democrat Party, which came to power in 1925 – driven by the conflict between the rural population and newcomers – used its power after the Second World War to transform Hvidovre into a modern working-class suburb.



Summerhouse grown into a whole-year house with a building-period stretching between 1926 and 1999. Tureby Alle 22.

Forstads museet, unrecorded photo 2012

HVIDOVRE'S 'SOCIAL HOUSING' PROSPECTS, 1951

There is no reason to doubt that after the German Occupation the Social Democrats in Hvidovre dreamed of Hvidovre as a future welfare municipality with good, affordable housing for the working class, including, of course, Copenhageners from the old, poor housing stock.

In accordance with social-democratic ideology after 1920, the social housing movement was regarded as part of the labour movement in general, and it was therefore expected that public housing associations would build in a Social Democrat-ruled Hvidovre. The reasons this did not happen during the 1930s were twofold: both because there was still ample room for building projects in Copenhagen, and because the poor and still somewhat chaotic Hvidovre with its dubious reputation was not obviously attractive to external players .

But the social housing associations became a new key player in Hvidovre's building development after 1945, and as mentioned above the starting point was a municipality without any public housing. In the light of the later dichotomy between owners and tenants and between the public and the private sector, it is interesting that it was a municipal council in an area where the vast majority lived in their own houses that engaged positively in Hvidovre's social housing future.

In 1951, addressing local party members, Hvidovre's municipal council chairman Toft Sørensen described the current state of affairs and outlook for Hvidovre municipality. Shortly after this he became Hvidovre's first mayor when the municipality, like a number of other Copenhagen suburbs, attained 'Gentofte status' in 1952.

His detailed analysis for the local party newspaper came at a time when construction projects – both public and private – were in full swing. His description of the situation was a description of a Hvidovre at the end of the periurban phase when there would now only be room for small adjustments in direction.

The text can be read as a manifesto for the municipality's future development, and in this light it is remarkable that so much of what lay ahead was, in his words, something that would probably happen.

The text was a long list of new construction projects under predominantly non-profit auspices and a statement that ongoing construction projects would probably continue.

‘There are the large areas of “Friheden” [the old commons] between Køgevej and the beach, which are owned by the City of Copenhagen. The town planning commission has assigned most of this area to the intermediate zone and thus it cannot be built on for the first 15 years. But from the place where Hvidovrevej turns into Køgevej, a sewer runs over the area down to the beach. The area east of the line can be built on. There is a sports ground on Dansborggården's land along Hvidovrevej, and an area has been reserved for building a school; but “Arbejderbo”

wants to construct some blocks out towards Hvidovrevej. The Danish Social Housing Society will certainly continue building Bredalsparken behind Bredalsgård and down along Phøenixhusene. A number of residential blocks of high quality will be built along Sognegård Allé towards the new town hall. There are plans for 800 apartments. Lejerbo will continue to build on Høvedstensgården. The intention is to zone the area between the municipal boundary and Arnold Nielsens Boulevard for sites for factories.

Finally, the idea is that Kettevej should be straightened so that it runs in a straight line to the road that goes through Avedøre. It is to retain its starting point at Hvidovrevej, but turn to the south. Residential buildings will also be constructed along the new road, but a new cemetery has been planned out at the Avedøre boundary between the new and the old Kettevej. There are plans to build a new hospital up along the present Kettevej behind Kettevejskolen on the land of Spurvegården, which is owned by the Copenhagen City Council. Residential blocks will probably be built between Kettevejskolen's sports ground along Hvidovrevej to Allingvej'.⁴⁴³

Most of the major public players in Hvidovre were mentioned: the social housing societies Københavns Almene Boligselskab (KAB), Lejerbo, Arbejderbo and Dansk almennyttigt Boligselskab (DAB). But it was also clear that as the landowner the Copenhagen City Council played a central role, a role that the Hvidovre municipality had no way of controlling.

The municipal council chairman's statement that *'there are plans to build a hospital'* illustrated clearly what the Copenhagen City Council's land acquisitions in Hvidovre meant for the opportunities of the small municipality to define the direction of development. The location of a major Copenhagen hospital on the land of Spurvegården had already been decided by the Copenhagen City Council in the mid-1930s, and the project was realized around 1970. And a Copenhagen hospital in Hvidovre must constantly have nurtured notions of impending incorporation.

There is also a reference to what 'certainly' will happen in the other areas owned by Copenhagen, where KAB was one crucial player. The municipal council chairman's impotence was evident in connection with the part of Spurvegården that would not be used for a hospital. *'Residential blocks will probably be built'* here.

⁴⁴³ Interview with the municipal council chairman in Hvidovre, Toft Sørensen. *Byens Stemme*, Hvidovre socialdemokratiske vælgerforening. No. 1, volume 1, October 1951. Forstads museet.

The municipal council chairman was enthusiastic about only one thing – the social housing project on the municipality's own land. *'A number of residential blocks of high quality will be built along Sognegård Allé towards the new town hall'*.

Besides the hospital, the big Copenhagen properties in Hvidovre were thus used for the construction of public housing, and the largest player was KAB, which built Hvidovre's most standardized and monotonous social housing projects in the early 1960s on two of the major sites.⁴⁴⁴



The municipality of Copenhagen was behind the only element of long-term planning in Hvidovre at it built its hospital in the late 1960's on land bought for the purpose in the 1930's. This was Copenhagens third contribution to Hvidovre besides the two large social housing projects.

Forstads museet B11506

Through massive construction of public housing, predominantly in the form of blocks of flats, the municipality guarded itself against a return to the political landscape of former times. The development trend, with massive construction of multi-storey buildings for the working class, was very much in line with

⁴⁴⁴ *Mellem borgerskab og boligfolk*, 2008, p. 99 (KAB) ' : Friheden, with its 1,170 dwellings, where the stereotype building plan exhibits some inappropriate linkages dictated by the element-construction crane tracks and widespread mechanical repetition. ' The harsh words authorized by the housing association itself indicate the level of ambition of the exact housing association, which had played a part in arranging individual loans for those who had built individual houses in Hvidovre forty years previously.

expectations at the regional level, where the assumption was that rental housing would be more common than single-family houses in the post-war period.⁴⁴⁵

The result was a modernist suburb where the physical context had no relation to the old villa dreams with their upper-middle-class associations, only to the architecture, industrial aesthetics and collective ideals of the modernist project.

On the single-family house front, in the post-war years there was a qualitative strengthening of the old subdivisions through the government loans scheme which, although it imposed constraints on the space of each home, basically ensured quality in materials and aesthetics through its demand for architectural assistance.

In the period between 1948 and 1958, about 1,200 single-family homes were built in Hvidovre with government loans.⁴⁴⁶ In comparison, in the first 15 years after the Liberation around 4,000 public housing units were constructed.⁴⁴⁷

Along with the continued construction of non-subsidized family houses, this meant that Hvidovre's population almost tripled during the period. Faced with such growth and development, municipal planning that could have regulated the process and guided the development in relation to a local policy might have been expected.

Such a policy cannot be traced in the local sources, and in the recruitment policy practised in the municipality there was resistance to hiring the university-educated workforce that could have helped to strengthen municipal management.⁴⁴⁸

At the time, the state-level planning authorities, which had been created in the post-war period, experienced conditions in Hvidovre as follows:

⁴⁴⁵ *Betænkning vedrørende partiel byudviklingsplan Nr. 2 for Københavns-Egnens byudviklingsområde*, 1951, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁶ During a year-by-year review of building projects in Hvidovre municipality 1948-58, 1,264 cases with references to government loans were found. By means of random checks, it has not been possible to establish whether some are repetitions, so the number may be somewhat lower. www.weblager.dk

⁴⁴⁷ Between 1945 and 1960, 13 social housing projects were built in Hvidovre with about 4,000 dwellings, and at the beginning of the 1960s KAB constructed another 1,600 council flats in two of Copenhagen's municipal areas. *Småskriftsamlingen*, Forstadsmuseet.

⁴⁴⁸ Opinion was divided on the appointment of the first university graduate as leader of the municipal administration in 1955. After a short time, the reservations of the municipal council were proved right because the appointee had to be sacked for mixing private with municipal business. *Ernst Andersens Arkiv A/228*.

*'Hvidovre municipality is the most hopeless municipality in the whole Copenhagen region. The municipality's town planning work is of such a standard that we at D. K. (State nominees) are often reduced to tears'.*⁴⁴⁹

The periurban window of opportunity was closed with KAB's buildings at the beginning of the 1960s. There were no more vacant areas of importance and the progress of the periurban phase had created a physical and social landscape that included two main elements through the 1950s: single-family house neighbourhoods with houses of all qualities and the social housing areas with consistently higher building quality and the modern facilities of the time.⁴⁵⁰

THE SUBURB OF HVIDOVRE

Hvidovre was a developed suburb from the mid-1960s, a largely residential municipality with small business areas and virtually no green facilities other than those around the social park settlements in the 1950s. It had a large single-family house sector, a slightly smaller social housing sector and relatively little private rental housing.

It was a municipality where the built environment demonstrated the absence of planning through most of the periurban process and in places could display the periphery's lack of influence on its own development, for example the Holbæk motorway's intersection of Hvidovre in 1965, when still quite new or brand new public housing projects were neighbours to the motorway.

Nevertheless, there were a number of years of financial growth when the municipality was equipped with the many institutions and facilities of the welfare suburb, when the social housing sector was still 'state of the art', and when single-family houses were modernized and expanded. Hvidovre's prosperity was quite parallel to that of other suburban municipalities.

An expected 'gentrification' could begin in step with rising house prices and Hvidovre's relatively increasing centrality in an urban landscape that now extended far out into the planned Greater Copenhagen 'fingers'. Copenhagen still looked like the radial city the people behind the 'Finger Plan' had envisaged, but evolution

⁴⁴⁹ Quote from 1963 by a town planner from the State Nominees in urban planning matters. Illeris, S. *Centraladministration og byplanlægning 1938- ca. 1975*, Dansk Byplanlaboratorium, skrift 73, 2014, p. 81.

⁴⁵⁰ Sverrild, P. *En moderne velfærdsfamilie i Hvidovre* in Kristensen, H. and Helberg, N. (eds.) *På fri fod*, Byplanhistorisk skrift no. 75, 2015, pp. 89-91.

towards a more multi-centred city was in full swing with growth in the periphery – for example in Lyngby, Glostrup and Kastrup.

The process that the suburb of Hvidovre could very well have undergone in the decades following the end of the periurban phase was interrupted by two factors: first, the cultural changes where since the mid-1960s the public sector was gradually relegated to the role of social problem-solver, while the inhabitants' housing trajectories increasingly came to be about home ownership – not least the new condominiums from the mid-1960s; and secondly, the municipal merger in 1974 meant that Hvidovre in the shape of Avedøre Stationsby was given a role in the 'Køge Bay Act', which was Plan Denmark's largest investment in industrial housing construction and the total planning of large urbanized units.

This meant that the Hvidovre municipality also became a target when the massive criticism of element construction had its breakthrough from the mid-1970s on. This resulted not only in the municipality's economy once more coming under pressure, but also in Hvidovre's profile yet again shifting in a negative direction.

With Hvidovre municipality's shift westward into the 'Finger Plan's' projected zoned landscapes after only a good decade as a suburb, a small periurban sphere opened up in the newly acquired Avedøre. But the centrally laid-down planning framework was already stringent at the time of the merger, and was further tightened over the next decade. Moreover, it is difficult to discern any real municipal opportunity to affect this development – although individual opportunities can be identified which the majority in the still Social- Democrat-dominated municipal council chose not to exploit.

This was the case, for example, with the construction of the last and most difficult part of Avedøre Stationsby, Store Hus, in 1975.⁴⁵¹ Hvidovre's local council had the opportunity to say no to the project, but the municipality's now-historical predilection for social housing meant that, despite serious doubts about the project's social sustainability, a narrow majority voted for one of the industrial element-construction town's last projects.

⁴⁵¹ 'Store Hus' is a high-rise with 480 two-room flats designed by the architect Ole Buhl.



By 1950 it was mainly the farms owned by Copenhagen that were not developed but the plans were made. The periurban structure had developed into suburban.

Forstads museet, kort, Hvidovre 1950

CONCLUSION

During the 20th century, as a Copenhagen suburb, Hvidovre occupied a well-defined place in the social and housing-related urban landscape. To be more precise, in the 1930s Hvidovre was located at the bottom of the 'Monopoly scale of values' in accordance with the current 'snapshot' of social and housing conditions.

Subsequently, as a result of the welfare building activity of the post-war period with its emphasis on non-profit housing, Hvidovre came to be perceived as part of the western region of Copenhagen and became part of the story of industrialized welfare, which since then – after the 1970s – has been a the narrative of the residential landscape of immigration.

Not much attention has been paid to the path towards the stereotypes that surround the suburb of Hvidovre and the reality that is the suburb of Hvidovre. It has therefore not been clarified whether suburban development was driven from the inside or outside, in a programmatically predictable way in accordance with existing suburban typologies, or whether alternative development opportunities were possible along the way.

This raised questions about how the development of Hvidovre fits into the broader history of the suburbs. At the end of the 20th century, the result of Hvidovre's development accorded with the stereotypes about the socially segregated geography of the city in many ways, but it was unclear whether the path there was similarly predictable.

In the absence of knowledge, it was uncertain whether the history of the individual suburb conceals neglected development potential, whether the individual case can provide new knowledge of general relevance, and whether there might be significant new knowledge in a local variation of a suburban story that is both general and global.

I have tested the potential for new discoveries by answering the questions from my problem formulation and focusing on the underprivileged and underexposed suburban landscape:

What conditions over the almost two centuries from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 20th century had a significant impact on the suburb of Hvidovre's relation to the city, to its location in the social geography of the urban landscape and to the built landscape?

What has been the distribution of roles between centre and periphery during the period and how has the relationship between centre and periphery affected Hvidovre's development during the 'rural periurban-suburban' process?

Following the study's concluding observations and the conclusions to the individual chapters, the final conclusion of the thesis can be structured in the following 11 sections.

1. We can no longer confidently talk about 'the suburb', only about 'suburbs'.

Entirely consistent with the international approach in recent decades, this study suggests that the individual suburb carries its individual history – quite parallel to that of the individual city. The development of the individual suburb – like that of the individual city – took place within the framework of general development patterns, but the preconditions for and the importance of local variations have generally been underexposed in work on the suburbs.

International research on the suburbs has, among other things, been based on and guided by ideas about the value of a more or less unambiguous definition of 'suburb'. The idea seems to have been based on an imaginary world where this particular form of urbanization reflected an unambiguous development where residents, buildings and life-modes developed in predictable patterns.

Scientists, opinion-makers and government agencies have carried out the work of definition since the second half of the nineteenth century by means of certain conceptions of 'the suburbs'. Today, however, we lack a workable definition that adequately covers a suburban landscape which through time has not only developed physical and social dimensions, but also cultural and mental ones.

At the time of writing, the picture is of a growing understanding that the task of defining and structuring the suburban landscape cannot be dealt with on the existing basis. Through studies of still more suburbanization – especially outside the traditional research field in the English-speaking world where the white middle class has had a disproportionate presence – it has become clear that the suburban landscape cannot be fitted into all the stereotypes.

An inclusive definition might now seem to have to limit itself to speaking of a suburb that presupposes the existence of a city to which the suburb is in a functional relationship. But even such a minimum definition will run into problems, for example, when 'the suburb' is identified in terms of special architectural or planning characteristics which in many places are on the rise in the cities that generated the suburbs.

The history of the urbanization of Hvidovre is one such case, illustrating the fact that prevailing notions of the suburban landscape of Danish tradition must be corrected. The clarification of the long urbanization process contributes new knowledge against the background of the social geography in the Copenhagen suburban landscape that was established later. It indicates that there was a complex series of unforeseeable factors which, along with more familiar causes, led up to what every age regards as the ultimate goal.

Hvidovre is an example of the fact that only when a perceptually-based point of departure is taken as regards the condition and status of the suburb of Hvidovre at the end of the periurban phase is it possible to maintain the notion of the suburban stereotypes that form a basis for the identification of 'suburbia'.

2. A micro-historical case study may uncover the existence of neglected conditions and actors.

It was expected that the micro-study could uncover local conditions, but Hvidovre demonstrates that local studies can also reveal overlooked forces and actors that have had an impact far beyond the local community.

Uncovering the role of *Centralforeningen af Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn*, both as a player in the local and regional struggle for parcel-owners' rights and later for the illegal residents, and its work for the provision of model drawings for low-income house-builders, sheds new light on otherwise well-illustrated subjects.

One example is the early years of the social housing movement, when there were closer ties between the public sector and individual homeowners than the literature has described. Moreover, the social profile of the well known organization *Bedre Byggeskik* appears clearer in the light of the elucidation of the rediscovered *Centralforening's* necessary efforts for the less fortunate in the housing area.

The introduction of the exemplary periurban family, Brusch, who moved from immigration to Copenhagen over country home in Frederiksberg and country life in Hvidovre to a move characterized by modernity, contributes by animating and exemplifying a trend that was representative but was also characterized by individual variability.

The rich sources from local public and private spheres not only illuminate local conditions but also throw sidelights on regional and national circumstances. Simultaneously, they also identify forgotten actors and relativize the roles of other actors.

3. Focusing on the suburban periurban phase may uncover underexposed developmental variations

Introducing the periurban phase, which is part of Professor Richard Harris's model for the urbanization process, will enable us to become aware of the importance of local preconditions in the process.

In the case of Hvidovre, this meant that it was necessary to find phenomena and explanations for a whole century before the surveyors planted the first boundary markers for land registers that could clearly be related to urbanization.

Hvidovre's path through the periurban phase was found to involve a unique palette of locally-related development options which was narrowed down continuously throughout the phase by a combination of unique events, local cultural characteristics and movement within the overall framework for the development of society.

Prior to the inclusion of the periurban phase, Hvidovre's urbanization seemed to be a unique and almost natural process where less affluent Copenhageners in a well-defined social geography created a working-class suburb in a place where there could not be anything else.

The analysis of the periurban phase explains how Hvidovre as a suburb became the working-class suburb that was so conspicuous in the 1950s. It is evident that in the case of Hvidovre, the progress of the periurban phase was crucial for the location of the suburb of Hvidovre in the social geography of Greater Copenhagen – completely in accordance with the theory of the function and significance of the periurban phase.

But the analysis of Hvidovre's development, by virtue of its identification of factors and progress during the periurban phase, plays a part in the dismantling of stereotypes and the questioning of adopted perceptions.

For example, prior to this work it was not clear that the specific developments in the ownership and use of land in Hvidovre through the nineteenth century came to dilute the local ruling class with major consequences for the land development practices; nor indeed that the activities of the royal family in Frederiksberg were a factor in Hvidovre's development quite as important as the municipal political boundary demarcation.

Similarly, it is now clear that minor shifts in the development, for example, of local industrial and country-house culture could have had long-term effects on

Hvidovre's demographics, just as traffic policy in the capital left its traces for a long time to come.

It is quite certain that, had it not been for the national housing shortage in the wake of the First World War – in the second part of Hvidovre's periurban phase – the single-family house neighbourhoods in Hvidovre would have had a different social profile.

The analyses of the periurban phase show that there was no predictable direction the urbanization of Hvidovre would take.

4. It is necessary to pay attention to neglected areas.

The blindness to certain parts of suburban landscapes shown by historians and opinion-makers has meant that parts of the suburban landscapes have been underexposed. The absence of recorded history leaves these suburbs at risk of being defined in terms of stereotypes of 'the suburb'.

Stereotypes obviously tend to become self-confirming over time, as the literature demonstrates, and from the outset the stereotypical suburb was created by people who did not live there, while the individual suburb took on its individual character as a result of local knowledge.

A key aspect in the choice of Hvidovre as a case is that Hvidovre is located in a part of the urbanized landscape that has not been interesting in Danish history. The common centre-periphery view of urbanization, together with the demographic consequences of social geography, has meant that some suburbs have not been the subject of historical interest.

On the basis of the results of this work, studies of other underexposed urban structures can similarly be expected to uncover forgotten or underexposed actors.

Without studies of Hvidovre's periurban phase, Hvidovre might have appeared to be a natural part of the working-class suburban landscape of Greater Copenhagen's Western Region. However, the analyses of the history of its development in this study identify factors and events that were crucial in ensuring that Hvidovre obtained its specific role in urban social geography and did not become a part of Frederiksberg or Copenhagen with a different profile.

5. There must be focus on the link between rural and suburban.

The link between rural and suburban – as in Hvidovre – is identified throughout the

whole of the periurban phase, as well as in the formative years of the suburbs, when the first generation of single-family house culture was established.

The focus of older literature on the centre-periphery relationship and the urban base of the suburbs obscured the understanding of some suburbs as urban smallholder communities. A classic understanding of migration into the suburbs of Copenhagen has focused on the newcomers coming from the city. But awareness that many of the incoming Copenhageners had only stayed briefly in the city on their journey from countryside to suburb facilitates a new understanding of forms of culture and building traditions in the suburbs. This applies especially in the suburbs where low-income groups accounted for a significant part of the population.

When one perceives the single-family house developments in the first decades of the 20th century as part of the periurban phase, this clarifies the relationship with the preceding period of the phase. Greater attention to the fact that the suburbs, despite their functional coupling to the city, were closely linked through their population with the countryside, may for example facilitate the identification of local building styles in the suburbs as more than an inept miming of bourgeois culture and make way for the identification of unrecognized local variations rooted in rural culture.

The identification by this thesis of an overlooked link between the parcelling-out movement and the smallholder movement would not be possible in the centre-periphery tradition. But in a periurban setting, where a range of development opportunities – urban and non-urban – arose over time, influences overlooked or neglected in the literature become evident.

The thesis proposes a further exploration of rural cultural influences on life and the built-up landscape in the suburbs.

6. Danish suburban development and research should be related to international suburban development and research.

The study seeks to identify the suburbs in Danish and international understanding and to outline a historical structuring of the Danish suburbs.

In the absence of a general Danish history of the suburbs, I have made a tentative proposal to incorporate a chronology and typology in the understanding of the growth of the Copenhagen suburbs. I have linked this with the treatment of the suburb in Danish literature.

For several reasons, this is not intended as an authoritative recommendation. In the first place, it is primarily meant as a contribution to the establishment of a broader framework of understanding for the central subject of the thesis, Hvidovre; and secondly, the task is so complex that it would have to be the priority target of an independent work. Finally, the thesis points out that there is a lack of analysis of several suburban developments that has to be addressed before a Copenhagen chronology and typology can meaningfully be presented without merely being a reproduction of the stereotypes in the existing literature.

However, I think that my division into generations and structuring of the growth of the Copenhagen suburb, and the related perception of the suburbs, can contribute to an understanding of the specific developmental variations of the Danish suburbs in relation to the international understanding of the Danish suburb.

The concise review of a number of international approaches to the suburb points primarily to two factors. First, the sphere is dominated by English-language studies and cases. The language used concerning the suburbs and their development is thus based mainly on the North American suburbs and North American interpretations of their reality and history.

In the light of the triumphal global progress of suburban structures, it is natural to seek common structural explanations for their formation and function. But given the difficulties of older theory formation in embracing an object which progressively more detailed studies have made to appear increasingly complex, there is much to indicate that it is important to define the areas where typologizing makes sense.

Local variations in the urbanization process tend to disappear under the weight of the theoretically based typologies, making it difficult to assess the extent to which the variations are important to the development of any individual suburb.

In relation to the basic assumption of this thesis – that each suburb has a unique developmental history – my attempt to structure Copenhagen suburb formation may seem paradoxical, but it was necessary for me to establish a basic framework of orientation for the development of Hvidovre.

It is obvious that suburb formation around Copenhagen is a function of a development of society corresponding to the one that has created suburbs around other cities in the industrialized world from the early 19th century on. This observation has been the basis for the formation of the stereotypes that international theory formation has cultivated, and it is therefore a natural platform for Danish assumptions about developmental parallelism.

The strength of maintaining the international dimension of urbanization in working with the Danish suburbs is, first, the volume of intellectual work that it represents; but it also offers the potential for finding parallels to and contrasts with Danish phenomena which then present new avenues for interpretation.

The weakness of the international dimension has obviously been its one-sided inclination to deal with certain parts of the world and certain social groups; but this tends to become less of a problem in parallel with the spread of research environments in the spatial and social dimensions.

The current international trends in research on the suburbs are towards the interdisciplinary and the playing-down of expectations of broadly comprehensive theories and definitions. In this context, my thesis plays a small role in stressing that inspiration may be found internationally, but that local empirical data must first be seen in the local context.

7. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary for identifying Danish suburb typologies.

The conspicuous physicality of the suburbs tends to distract us from their lived life when we seek to structure them. It was obvious almost from the very beginning that there was more than their physicality to consider in typologizing the suburbs and structuring our understanding of them. Moral, social and cultural aspects were prominent from the earliest mention of the suburbs in Denmark.

The variation in individual disciplinary approaches to working with suburban history over time has mirrored changing perceptions of the suburb as either an opportunity or a problem. However, in Denmark it is characteristic that different academic approaches to the suburban landscape have mostly been characterized by practices based on different individual disciplines.

Architects/planners have been very dominant in the description and assessment of suburban landscapes in the historical and contemporary perspectives. In many ways, they have set the tone in modern suburban history. This has to do with aesthetics, and the obvious necessity of planning, and thus also with the occasional unfortunate absence of aesthetics and planning.

For a long time, the 'cultural bias' of suburban history was due to an absence of other kinds of interest, and only as the historical disciplines have become more decentralized over the last few generations have the suburbs become visible. On the other hand, it is also clear to the practitioners of the appropriate discipline that it did

not come first – so to a high degree it operates on the premises laid down by architects and planners.

The social geography of the suburban landscape has been interpreted from this angle on the basis of the existing city through the understanding of the built-up landscape and in relation to the underlying urbanization process that has the city as its centre.

The structuring offered by the present work also has this physicality as a starting point. This is because the chapter containing my idea for structuring the suburban landscape and dividing it into generations was included and drawn up in part with the aim of grasping the framework around the development of Hvidovre and in part in order to illuminate the complexity of the suburbs – chronologically, technologically, and in terms of social geography and stereotypes. But the structuring is also a sign of the strength of the adopted disciplinary approach and assessments in the existing literature.

The thesis demonstrates the potential of a multidisciplinary approach by accompanying the physically and chronologically grounded structuring of the suburbs with a literary angle, which could have been expanded further with a cinematic angle.

The ability of the suburban landscapes to generate attitudes and stereotypes has been created not least by their socially segregating function and the overwhelming force of the geographical factors. However, when one involves the disciplines that relate to the cultural expression of the suburban landscape, it becomes possible to generate new knowledge about suburban history that is not affected by posterity's interpretations of the developmental causality.

At the same time, working with the cultural expression and impression of the suburbs presents us with an opportunity to gain a precise understanding of the subsequent effects of these expressions and impressions.

8. Local features from before urbanization influenced the periurban phase.

In the outline of Hvidovre's history in relation to the surrounding landscape with its actors prior to the agrarian reforms, the image of the area was that of a village that was particularly marginalized in some respects, in terms of access to knowledge and cultural influences. Although it was a village with a church, it was without a clergyman for centuries, and in spite of its proximity to Copenhagen, in terms of traffic the village was marginalized at the beginning of the 18th century.

The agricultural reforms showed that Hvidovre farmers were activist opponents of the enclosures, which were implemented from above on the initiative of a farmer from outside the local community. The era of the village community in Hvidovre was stamped out vigorously by conservative forces, but without understanding from of the surroundings.

Once implemented, the enclosures set the stage for a significant new local development that makes it reasonable to start the periodization of the developmental history of the local community at this point; not with the usual story of the farmer as owner and the farmer class as a rising social class, but with the history of countryside properties as objects of trade and speculation, and the history of the introduction of the new: the beginning of Hvidovre's periurban phase.

It is more open to discussion whether it was a special, original and local cultural character with long-standing historical roots that repeatedly caused the Hvidovre farmers to respond particularly strongly to external impacts. While their pattern of action remained strongly activist and reactionary over several centuries – in relation to the enclosures, in relation to the Copenhagen municipality at the time of the municipal divisions in 1901, and during the illegal influx of new residents – other causes may also exist.

9. The relationship between city and suburb was constantly asymmetrical.

The demonstration that the older works on the history of urbanization were mainly based on a core-periphery vision, and furthermore on an outside-in position in relation to this particular part of the suburban landscape, is important for understanding why they must be supplemented by a periphery-centre angle and an inside-out view.

The centre-periphery angle is not only about the large central structure in relation to the small peripheral one, but also about the fact that throughout the history of the Danish suburb the opinion-forming groups have physically and mentally either been at the centre or in the part of the suburban landscape that had already been canonized by historians.

Throughout the entire periurban phase in Hvidovre, the centre-periphery relationship was characterized by the centre acting and the periphery reacting. Nevertheless, at the same time, it can be seen that the periphery acted in a reactionary fashion, and in the case of Hvidovre it was periodically strongly influenced by the lack of local resources with a knowledge of the urbanized world.

The social profile created by migration to Hvidovre in the second part of the periurban phase also came to limit Hvidovre's ability to act as part of the modern city structure.

On the other hand, the history of these developments documented that Hvidovre was not alone in acting in a short-sighted way in crucial situations. The actions of Frederiksberg and Copenhagen in the areas of municipal division and incorporation respectively indicate that even these larger urban structures lacked a fundamental understanding of what the urbanization process would entail.

The basic asymmetry between Copenhagen and Hvidovre was not only about volume; it was also about a structural inequality that resulted from the status of Copenhagen as the original structure and moreover as the capital. So all new initiatives that dealt with the relationship between Copenhagen and Hvidovre were based on the idea that Copenhagen was facing a challenge that had to be dealt with for the sake of Copenhagen. As periphery and suburb, it was evident that Hvidovre was seen as only existing in relation to the challenges of Copenhagen.

A result of the centrist tradition in urban history can also be seen in the treatment of illegal residence. The individual system-hostile solution to the housing problem which was thus practiced around Copenhagen did not fit into the Danish housing welfare narrative of the 20th century. Since this narrative was also about a culturally and economically peripheral social class without any ideas of social upheaval, there was no reason to focus on the phenomenon.

10. The chronology in the development of the suburbs was decisive for their form and function.

It is a key finding that the anticipated mechanical transition from suburb to part of the city in Copenhagen only came to include the first generation of suburbs, the *-bro* areas. Since then, the suburbs have maintained varying degrees of suburban character regardless of age and newly-constructed physical features. It is only in recent decades that the Copenhagen suburbs have been marked by dreams of urban life in urban physical surroundings – paradoxically as suburban culture has invaded the city.

Specifically, it was of great importance for Hvidovre that the timing in terms of national politics led to party-political involvement in local conflicts in the early 1920s. Later on, this made Hvidovre into a social-democratic municipality, and paved the way for the completion of the periurban phase with extensive social housing..

11. It is important to take an interest in the history of ordinary life

The specific case of Hvidovre challenges the history of Danish housing and planning. Like many other suburbs, Hvidovre was not home to the historic housing initiatives outlined in the literature. The analysis of local subdivisions and homeowners' associations in the context of the young garden-city ideology makes it clear that in Denmark the garden city was an architectural and social-philanthropic project that did not reach the general public and the many, as was the case with the early idealistic housing associations.

The garden city ideology was divided into three aspects in Denmark. The planning part was taken over by architects and planners, the social-housing movement captured the non-profit strand of financing, and the market took over the common dream of the good, healthy life in the countryside.

The account of the strong role of the associations in the development of the single-family house is made more multi-faceted by the study of this case and illustrates a different reality from the one enshrined in the story of associations as the powerful instrument of the time for raising aesthetic and planning quality.

A similar correction to the current narrative is the uncovering of a special regional association established to meet the common people's dream of single-family homes. The reintroduction of the association *Centralforeningen for Parcellforeninger og Villaejere i København og Omegn* into history also paves the way for the recording of the story of the ordinary house in Danish construction and housing history.

The rediscovery of *Centralforeningen* also sheds completely new light on the contemporary perception of the relationship between social housing policy, planning and public ownership of land.

The marginalization of the general social aspect has made it possible for the narrative of the architects and planners to conceal a significant story that was highly visible at the time and was based on the way the generality contributed to the triumph of the single-family house in Denmark.

Single-family house culture in the suburbs needs new studies, now that it is obvious that the case of Hvidovre can point to neglected phenomena and possible interpretations.

The countryside/suburb/city relationship is probably much more complex than previous studies suggest.

The history-less suburb exists as little as the history-less city does and the stereotypical suburb is similarly a construction of the world outside it.

The apparent lack of history is a consequence of the city's traditional primacy combined with the cultural tunnel vision of opinion-makers.

The suburban landscape needs as many local studies as there are suburbs, and out of the variety of developmental stories we are presented with, we must try to form meaningful syntheses in accordance with current needs – nationally and internationally.

Once the suburbs are seen as parts of the city and not as in opposition to the city, we have understood something central about urbanization, and when the suburbs are seen as parts of the countryside, not as in opposition to the country, we have also understood something important about its citizens.

ANNEX 1

RADIO
RÆKKERNE
PROJECT

RADORÆKKERNE //



KARTOFFELRÆKKERNE PÅ ISLANDS BRYGGE

Radorækkerne er 86 nye rækkehuse på Islands Brygge, Amager der er under opførelse.

Radorækkerne er en moderne nyfortolkning af de engelske Townhouses. En hustype, vi i Danmark bedst kender fra Kartoffelrækkerne og Humleby.

OGSÅ TIL FØRSTEGANGSKØBERE

Husene er funktionelt indrettet, så de både passer til seniorer og familier med 2 børn. De tilbyder dig det, du og din familie ellers må rykke langt væk for at få. Et hus, I kan være i. En have. Og ikke mindst et kvarter, I kan føle jer trygge i. Og så udbydes de til en pris, hvor mange førstegangskøbere også kan være med.

FILOSOFIEN BAG RADORÆKKERNE

I Radorækkerne kan I nyde privatlivets fred og opnå fordelene ved at tilhøre et attraktivt fællesskab. Børnene kan lege

sammen og få glæde af hinandens selskab. I kan etablere naborelationer, som I har lyst og i det hele taget skabe et trygt og rart miljø, der danner en god ramme omkring jeres familie – uden, at I går glip af byens mange kulturelle tilbud, fordelene ved at være tæt på jobbet og muligheden for at kunne cykle hen til venner, café og koncerter.

I kan læse bogen **"Sådan vil vi bo - i fremtiden" - en bog om fremtidens bolig i København her**, eller rekvirere et trykt eksemplar hos **Tetris**.

www.radorækkerne.dk

ANNEX 2

<http://www.byenvinge.dk>

VINGE ER FREMTIDENS BY

Vinge er en helt ny bæredygtig by i Frederikssund Kommune.

Vinge er omgivet af bølgede marker, enge, mose og meget tæt på ROSKILDE Fjord.

Vinge får sin egen S-togsstation på Frederikssund-linjen, så du nemt kan komme med toget til København, Frederikssund ELLER resten af Sjælland.

Der kommer mange forskellige boliger i Vinge. Der kommer lejligheder tæt ved stationen, rækkehuse og villaer og plads til bo- og byggefællesskaber.

Du kan få DIN helt egen have, eller du kan blive en del af et fællesskab, som deler haver og andre funktioner.

Det første, vi udvikler i Vinge, er Deltakvarteret og Vinge Centrum med stationen.

De første spadestik bliver taget i foråret 2015.

Hvis du vil bo i Vinge, så SEND en mail til vinge@frederikssund.dk, så kan vi hjælpe dig videre.

DELTAKVARTERET LIVE

Har du interesse for en byggegrund i Deltakvarteret? Tag med ud i Vinge og oplev Deltakvarteret live. Få viden om Vinges lokalmiljø, status på både det overordnede byudviklingsprojekt og på de konkrete muligheder i Deltakvarteret på det efterfølgende infomøde.

Tur i Vinge lørdag den 21. marts kl. 10:00 - 11.00. Vi MØDES ved Damgården, Dalvejen 8, 3600 Frederikssund.

Infomøde kl. 11:30 – 14:00 på Ådalens Skole, Kornvænget 4, 3600 Frederikssund.

TILMELDING senest 18. marts 2015 på vinge@frederikssund.dk.

PIONÉRMØDE KØBENHAVN

Få muligheden for at høre om Vinge og mulighederne for at bo i Deltakvarteret i København.

Infomøde søndag den 22. marts kl. 14:00 – 16:00, LOKALE 5, Kulturhuset Vesterbro, Lyrskovgade 4, 1758 København V.

TILMELDING vinge@frederikssund.dk senest 18. marts 2015.

BOFÆLLESSKABER

Du får viden om og gode råd til at etablere bofællesskaber. Kom og mød andre, der er interesserede i bofællesskaber.

Torsdag den 12. marts kl. 18:00 – 21:00, LOKALE 5, Vesterbro Kulturhus, Lyrskovgade 4, 1758 København V.

English

FÅ BESKED

KONTAKT

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vinge@frederikssund.dk |

<http://www.frederikssund.dk/Omraader/By--bolig/Vinge>

Vinge

Vinge er et af Danmarks største byudviklingsområder med et samlet areal på 370 ha.

Når byen er fuldt udbygget vil den rumme ca. 20.000 indbyggere, en helt ny S-togsstation, skole, daginstitutioner, idrætshaller og **ANDRE** offentlige faciliteter.

I Vinge **FORVENTER** vi at kunne skabe op mod 4.000 arbejdspladser, både centralt og i den nordlige del af byen, hvor der etableres et højteknologisk erhvervsområde, Haldor Topsøe Park.

Vinge er tæt på København, **MEN** byen er langt fra en traditionel forstad. Vinge vil være en by hvor man kan mærke landskabet. Derfor skaber helhedsplanen en tæt by med mange forskellige by- og landskabsrum.

Centrum i Vinge er den fremtidige Vinge Station, der ligger midt i både by og natur. Et levende byrum der er helt integreret i landskabet. Samlingspunktet er bl.a. Det Grønne Hjerte - en attraktiv og levende byfælled. Det grønne byrum

binder Vinge **SAMMEN** og integrerer landskab, byliv og infrastruktur.

Brug menuen til venstre for at læse mere om Vinge - **ELLER**
find os på [Facebook](#) og www.byenvinge.dk



ANNEX 3

2 - DEN MODERNE BY - ANNONCETILLÆG

Drømmen om en funky forstad



Forstæder har ry for at være områder fyldt med triste betonblokke eller flade parcelhuse. Men det behøver ikke være sådan. På et areal vest for København vil arkitekter og byplanlæggere skabe en forstad, der er både funky og fremadrettet.

Tekst: Bine Iversen / po-magasin@brandmovers.dk Foto: Arkitema og Nærheden

Lys, luft og god plads. Det var værdier, der i 1960'erne og 1970'erne fik danskerne i tætnad til at slå sig ned i forstæder. Enten i eget parcelhus eller i de mange blokke, der blev opført rundt om de store byer. Men der gik ikke mange år, før både boligblokke og parcelhusvarter fik ry for at være kedelige eller ligefrem umenneskelige. Som uddannet byplanlægger kan projektdirektør Ole Møller godt se, hvad det er, der har givet forstædskvarteret et dårligt ry.

"Ofte er der ikke andet end boliger i området, enten i form af parcelhuse eller boligblokke. Fællesarealerne er typisk store græsplaner, der ikke appellerer til

aktiviteter for brugerne, og hvor det ikke er tydeligt, hvordan man skal bruge dem," siger Ole Møller. Han har en forfald som planlægger hos konsulentfirmaet og siden direktør i staten og et par kommuner. Men i dag har Ole Møller en ny opgave: Han skal skabe fremtidens forstad. Ved Hødehusene vest for København er Ole Møller og en række kolleger ved at planlægge et nyt byområde. Nærheden, kommer det til at hedde, og navnet indkapsler det, området skal fylde.

"De forstædskvarter, vi gerne vil fremme og udnytte, er nærheden til storbyen med gode forbindelser i form af tog og motorvej. Det er nærheden til naturen og nærheden til andre mennesker. Det er det, forstæden kan, hvis den bliver indrettet rigtigt," mener Ole Møller.

Hjernen elsker varierede byer

Lige nu er området, det skal blive til Nærheden, mest af alt en bar mark. Men arkitekter og byplanlæggere har længe arbejdet med planerne for, hvordan den nye forstad skal se ud og især, hvordan den skal fungere. De er opst på at lære af fortidens fejl, og de har blandt andet taget hjerneforskning til hjælp. Det fortæller Stig Ammitzbo, der er arkitekt og kreativ leder i Arkitema. Firmaet har tegnet den overordnede plan for udviklingen af Nærheden.

"I dag ved vi en masse om, hvordan mennesker opfatter rum og skala, og hvordan hjernen påvirkes af det," fortæller Stig Ammitzbo.

"Den del af hjernen, som især aktiveres af rumoplevelse, kaldes det limbiske system og er en grådel af vores krybdyrhjerne. Den søger konstant efter stimuli i form af variation, farver og lys," fortæller arkitekten. Det er også i denne del af hjernen, vi skal finde forklaringen på, hvorfor mange 1960'er-forstæder opleves som grimme og kedelige.

"Det limbiske system udfører ikke rigtig af noget, når vi færdes i bydelene med ensartede boligblokke. Hjernen kommer populært sagt til at kede sig," siger Stig Ammitzbo.

Nøgen til at undgå kedelige forstæder hedder kompleksitet og variation. Bygninger skal være forskellige i både udseende og størrelse, og selve byrummet skal være fleksibelt og indbydende til aktiviteter. Men det er vigtigt, at beboerne føler, at de selv kan bestemme, hvordan de vil være private, og hvordan de vil være aktive i selskab med andre.

Balance er vigtig

Velfungerende forstæder skaber netop den mulighed, mener Stig Ammitzbo: "Vores menneskelige komfort-zone går, at vi gerne selv vil bestemme, hvem vi har

OM NÆRHEDEN

Nærheden er et partnerskab etableret af Høje-Taastrup Kommune og Realdata by. Formålet er at udvikle et nyt stationsnært boligområde ved Hødehusene sydvest for København.

Hvor det førhen var en usædvanlig regel, at børnefamilier og seniorer fortrak rolige forstæder frem for pulserende storbyer, så er det i dag ofte omvendt. Det giver udfordringer for de kommuner, der i mange år har tiltrukket unge familier og velpolstrade pensionister. Nærheden er et bud på, hvad der kan få netop disse grupper lokket ud af storbyen.

"Vi vil understøtte sundhed, fællesskab og aktiviteter i forstæden, og vi vil binde Nærheden sammen med resten af Hødehusene," siger Ole Møller.

Høje-Taastrup Kommune har sat penge af til at bygge en ny skole i Nærheden i 2018. Andre attraktioner i området bliver fælleshuse med mulighed for at etablere værksteder, lege gæsteværter og skabe pick-up-points for onlinekab.

"Vores slogan er 'Det samme liv er lige i Nærheden'. Mange menneskers udfordringer i dag handler om travlhed og om at få tid til både job og familie. I Nærheden vil vi give nogle praktiske bud på, hvordan almindelige mennesker kan få et nemmere liv i dagligdagen," siger Ole Møller.

www.naerheden.dk

tæt på. Det er der bedre mulighed for, hvis der både findes private, semiprivate og offentlige rum," siger Stig Ammitzbo. Han nævner Kartoffelrække-kvarteret i København som et klassisk eksempel på en god balance mellem det offentlige og det private rum.

"Her bruges de semiprivate gader som fælles nærmiljø til boligerne. Når jeg går gennem kvarteret, så fornemmer jeg, at der er nogen, der har øjenskontakt med mig, men jeg kan stadig godt bevæge mig rundt, uden en følelse af at være overvåget af beboerne i privatheden," siger Stig Ammitzbo.

"I Nærheden prøver vi at skabe semiprivate rum, eksempelvis i form af havegange mellem rækkehuse, hvor mennesker kan mødes".

En vellykket forstad handler måske også om, at byplanlæggerne ikke skal fastlægge alt på forhånd. Gamle byer, som Århus og Roskilde, har udviklet sig over tid, og også nye byområder bør være åbne over for ændringer. Ellers kan resultatet blive en uflexibel og fastlåst by. Tæt ved Nærhedens arealer ligger området ved Høje-Taastrup Station. Det var i 1980'erne tænkt som en ny, pulserende forstad. Men i dag virker det ofte mennesketomt. Det kan der være flere forklaringer på, mener Ole Møller.

"Bygningerne er efter min mening for store og for ensartede," siger Ole Møller. Han tilføjer, at det sandsynligvis også er en fejl at tro, at man kan planlægge et helt byområde på forhånd. Udviklingen af Nærheden skal der være plads til nye ideer og tilpasninger undervejs.

"Vi udvikler byen med stor variation over tid frem for at fastlægge ens standarder for alt fra starten," siger projektdirektøren. ■



Projektdirektør Ole Møller fra Nærheden.



Stig Ammitzbo fra Arkitema.

Kolofon

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By the flagpole on the plot, Mørups Alle 4, 1926.

Forstadmuseet B11363

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SUMMARY

Hvidovre stands out as a Copenhagen suburb with an evident history as expressed in today's built suburban environment. We recognize the suburban landscapes through generations of stereotyping related to architecture, social, political and planning history.

By investigating the period preceding Hvidovres suburban reality - the periurban phase - and by observing the urbanization from the urban periphery and not just the centre a new light is cast on the processes.

This study analyses centre-periphery relations in the urbanization-process and questions the predefined role of wellknown players and ideologies.